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ABSTRACT

This analysis of Ibo is not intended as a definitive work, but rather represents a novel approach to the description of the phonology and grammar of this language. The analysis is organized under the following headings: (1) "Sounds"; (2) "Tones"; (3) "Words Beginning in a Consonant"; (4) "Plurals"; (5) "Possessives"; (6) "As To"; (7) "Numerals"; (8) "The Verb"; (9) "Relative Sentences"; (10) "The Relative: Object Preceding"; (11) "Verbal Noun"; (12) "Verbal Nouns Formed with Prefixes and Suffixes"; and (13) "Reduplicated Words." (AM)

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THE PRINCIPLES OF IBO

R. C. ABRAHAM

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THE PRINCIPLES OF IBO

Archival Edition of Typescript

by

R. C. ABRAHAM, M.A., D.Litt.

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F O R E W O R D

The Principles of Ibo was left among the papers of Dr. Ray C. Abraham at the time of his death, in 1963. He had already given me permission to publish the book photographically for limited circulation among specialists. It should be understood that Dr. Abraham did not regard this Grammar as complete or as being ready for publication in the normal sense. It was intended to accompany his Ibo Dictionary, and the "Introduction", which is reproduced here, was written for the Dictionary, for which he collected a great mass of material, beginning in 1955.

The present work was originally typed for photo-offset reproduction. The author then abandoned the idea of using it in its present form, and made many hundreds of changes and additions to this typescript. Nearly all of these have been edited out of the present edition photographically. The present work, then, is a historical record of a particular stage in the author's analysis of Ibo Grammar. It would be quite unjust to complain of its defects and short-comings. If the author had lived, he would certainly have re-written it completely. It was generous and brave of him to allow it to circulate in its present form as a contribution to Ibo Studies.

Once it is clear what The Principles of Ibo is not, we can safely say what it is. It is a fresh approach to the Grammar of Ibo, and it is a first report on a very intensive study over a period of six or seven years. It is a work for specialists, and they will discover in it a fundamental contribution to the understanding of this great and difficult language.

Robert G. Armstrong
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A Note on Marking Igbo Tones

The Principles of Ibo was complete in its present form not later than 1961. It is a pioneer attempt to handle the problem of downstep in a terraced-level language, a phenomenon which he calls 'tone-switching' (pp. 10-13 below). A great deal of work has been done on this problem in recent years, and Dr. Abraham's solution will not be easily accepted by some students. It is by now clear that Igbo is most easily analysed as having two tonal phonemes, high and low, and a juncture phoneme, downstep, which occurs between high-tone syllables. In a long tone-phrase, there may be many downsteps with successive lowerings of the level of subsequent high tones. Once this principle is accepted, then it is a fairly simple matter to read Dr. Abraham's notation and to translate it into other systems, such as that of Prof. Welmers ('low-step-same') and that of Miss Green ('low-high-mid', in which mid never follows low and high after mid is on the same pitch level with it).

In studying the present work the essential thing is to identify the low tones. ('Original low tone', as Abraham calls it on p. 11). Then all other tones are recognized as high, and the downsteps are usually obvious from Abraham's notation. The following reading rules may prove helpful:

Initial ` is always low. All ´ are high. The sequences `´ and ´` are always low-high and high-low, respectively.

Before ´ any syllable not also marked ´ is low. Thus the two examples on p. 10, column 2, shieé and gaá, should be read as 'low-low-high' and 'low-high' respectively. (Dr. Abraham's ear did not fail him. An initial low before high is raised a bit, and the high is not very high unless a contrast is present).

Given the system which Abraham sets up on p. 11, column 2, a downward interval of one step is always downstep. A downward interval of two steps is always high-low. If the downstep juncture is written as a raised exclamation point, !, and low = L, and high = H, then the example at the top of the column can be read as follows:

ò	dígh	ị	onye	nwèrè	ìkẽ	ĩmẽyä
L	H	!H	H	H	!	H	H	H!H	H!H	H

If the high tone is left blank, the same sentence may be re-written

ɔ́ di↓ˈghi↓ onye ˈ nwere iˈke iˈmeya

In Professor Welmers' system it would be

ɔ́ di↓ghi↓ onye nwére iké iméya

In Miss Green's system it would be

ɔ́ di↓ghi↓ onye nwére iké iméya

With respect to the discussion on the phenomenon usually called downdrift, p. 9, column 2, most students today would agree that Miss Ward's solution is correct for the neutral or colourless intonation. Dr. Abraham's marking is for an emphatic utterance. There remains a problem with respect to whether one may get long run-downs or down-stepped highs that actually get below the initial low tone in pitch. I have heard utterances that would seem to justify Abraham's 'very low, deep, and profound' tones phonetically, but I have been unable to elicit them at will or regularly. It seems likely that there is an intonational or expressive pattern here that deserves considerable further study.

The student may find useful A Comparative Wordlist of Five Igbo Dialects, Occasional Publication No. 5 of the Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan.

Robert Armstrong

PREFACE

This book owes its existence in the first place to the efforts made by my friend Dr. Paul Hair to obtain financial assistance for payment of Igbo informants . Having already assisted me to obtain a grant for the production of my 'Dictionary Of Modern Yoruba' 1958 from what is now N.I.S.E.R. (Nigerian Institute Of Social And Economic Research), but which was then called W.A.I.S.E.R., he owing to his interest in the Igbo people and his affection for them, suggested to me that I should undertake the task of compiling an Igbo Dictionary also. This proposition was place before the Committee of N.I.S.E.R. and with the approval of its director Professor Barback and the approbation of Professor Dike, now Principal of University College, Ibadan, was sanc-tioned. Prior to this, much spadework had been done by my friend Pr-ofessor Armstrong, now Field Director of The West African Linguistic Survey to whom I am indebted for much past and present help and without whose encouragement at all times, I could not have continued any further language-research .

The next step was to obtain the funds necessary for printing the wo-rk. Here, a serious difficulty arose, this time national and psychological, for when I approached the Central Government, the reply was that as there was no agreed orthography, nothing could be done, there being no method of writing the Igbo Language. This official phraseolo-gy concealed the bitter dissension which had flared up between the Igbos and the Government over this very question, since the former fe-lt that they alone out of the various races in Nigeria had been humi-liated by the forced imposition on them of a phonetic alphabet which they disliked and about which they had not been consulted. I shall re-vert to this in a moment.

I wrote back early in 1957 saying that I was prepared to use whatever orthography Eastern Region preferred and was then instructed to suggest an orthography. My proposals were accepted and were as follows :-

ọ (as hitherto used) :- ọ́sọ́ 'running' : <u>not</u> New Orthography ɔ .

ẹ (as hitherto used) : ẹ́zẹ̀ 'king' : <u>not</u> New Orthography ɛ .

ị (replacing Old Orthography i which was used for both i and ị)

ụ (replacing Old Orthography u which was used for both u and ụ) . I therefore write :- ọ́ bụ̀ 'he is'. Here, the New Orthography us-ed ẹ which in print and typing becomes indistinguishable from e (i.e. small E).

I added :- 'A dictionary such as this which aims at 100 per cent accuracy must mark every tone : how far tones would be used in books and newspapers is for the Igbo People to decide themselves'.

So important is this matter of orthography to the Igbos, that the whole question has been recently re-opened. I received a cable on Au-

gust 23rd 1961 asking what orthography I was using and on September 14th, the following appeared in the 'Nigerian Outlook' :- 'The Ibo Dictionary which the Eastern Nigeria Government commissioned from a well-known linguist, Dr. R.C. Abraham, is to be published soon. Announcing this in Enugu yesterday, Mr. G.E. Okeke, Eastern Nigeria Mi-nister of Education said that one of the interesting features of th-e dictionary was the attempt made by the author to use a simple and intelligent orthography. He said he had come to the conclusion that the most satisfactory one was that which avoided complications.

The Minister, who was addressing the opening session of the Onwu Committee, which was appointed by the Government to study and recommend the best Igbo orthography, said he was satisfied with the sugge-stions made by Dr. Abraham. He appealed to members of the Committee to remember that there had been a long debate on this subject. The time had come that the controversy should be closed and settled finally. Delays in settling the dispute, the Minister emphasised, had had an adverse effect on the development of the Igbo Language'.

This was followed by letters to me from the Ministry Of Education dated 14th October and 20th September : these stated that 'your system of orthography has been unanimously recommended by the special Committee On Ibo Orthography which met last week. The recommendations may be summarised as follows with regard to the characters that have been in dispute :-

Dots And Dashes

'That dots (.) and not dashes (-) should be used' . In accordance with this ruling by the Committee, where I previously wrote ḿ-gbè ' time', I now use the orthograpny ḿgbè . The previously written ḿ-fé 'lightness' now becomes ḿfé .

Vowels :- a e ɪ ɨ o ǫ u ʉ

NG (mine) to be replaced by ŋ :- ɨ́ŋʉ 'drinking' (New Orthog. ŋ).

Combinations :- gb gh kp sh ch gw kw nw ny

In 'An Investigation Into The New Orthography' published in 1951, and written jointly by Mr. F.C. Ogbalu B.Sc. and Mr. D.C. Erinne B. Sc., a letter from The Oxford University Press was quoted saying ' We have had to refrain from publishing in Ibo till the vexed question of orthography is cleared up'. Worse than this is that Messrs. Longmans, Green actually published Igbo books in the new orthography and were unable to find purchasers!

One of the features of the New Orthography which caused consternation was changing the sound which e indicated : it had always been used to indicate the open-e sound (ǹkè 'thing'), but now it was to be used for the sound I write ɨ (ǫ́kɨta 'dog'): this would in the New Orthography be written ńkéta , while 'thing' would be written ǹkɛ̀ .

The only possible way in which a European can venture to teach an African or anybody else a language not the mother-tongue of the tea

-cher is by rigid collaboration between the teacher and the speaker of the mother-tongue : in this way each is complementary to the other. In this dictionary and grammar, I have had the able collaboration of Mr. Alagoma whose knowledge of English is perfect, whose education is of degree standard and whose hearing of tones is acute. For Europeans to teach other Europeans an African language without an African being always present is just an absurdity especially when, as is usually the case, the teacher is merely a learner himself and often, not even a gifted learner.

Enough has now been said to show how deeply the Igbos feel on this question of orthography and we may hope that the matter is now finally settled 'in alle Ewigkeit', to quote the Germans. The author's personal opinion is that rather too much stress has been laid on the matter of spelling - this has delayed written Ibo from emerging for over a decade, surely too big a price to pay for those lost ten years while seeking the blue bird of the ideal alphabet!

If past experience is any guide, this matter arises again and again like the phoenix from the flames : conference after conference, to settle the best way of writing Hausa, was held, their recommendations accepted, sanctioned by Government and used for books and news-papers. Nevertheless in Hausa, Mr. Parsons translated the Penal Code Law of 1959, using the standard orthography, but the essential marks for vowel-length and tone have been intentionally omitted. He has recently published another work using a totally different orthography where he instead of using the standard long o etc. ($\bar{o}$), adopts doubled vowels e.g. yáa fàafáa in place of the normal yā fāfā

The 'Eastern Nigeria Guardian' of 29th March 1951 stated it as their opinion that 'it ought to be a matter of grave concern that Ibo alone, of the three principal languages of Nigeria is without standardised grammar'. I have remedied this position by publishing a treatise on Ibo grammar : this will be found to be based on new reaearch.

As we shall see in the bibliography below, there have been many essays at formulating the very difficult principles of Ibo : all of these leave us in mid air. The only modern work of this nature meriting any consideration is the 'Introduction To The Ibo Language' by Dr. Ida Ward, September 1935.

The authors of the 'Investigation' say on Page 64 :- 'A much more important problem is to distinguish those vowel-sounds that differ only in their tones, where even context sometimes fails to tell the reader which idea is expressed'.

This is of course a vital element in Igbo : as stated at the foot

of the first page of this Preface, every syllable in each of the three parts of this book bears its tone-mark, with the proviso that mid tone is signalised by the absence of any marking.

The tone-marking (apart from the tone-rules) is explained on Pages 8-11 (ending at 4cc on Page 11).

In the case of Yoruba, I had even more printed books than I could find the time to read in five years and the Dictionary amounted to 36 pages of grammar plus 776 pages of text, Yoruba-English only. In the case of Igbo, owing to paucity of written material, my stock-in-trade had to be created out of a void. That is to say, I had to a large ex-tent, no text-material from which to draw lexicographical spoil apa-rt from the ten thousand or more sentences translated from English and forming the Igbo-English Dictionary.

Weighing this Igbo material against the 776 Yoruba pages gleaned, with much effort, from dozens of printed books, how large would the present Dictionary have been had I had the same number of books at my disposal as for Yoruba? The answer is 'too monumental to print!'. At the present cost of printing, the whole project would have been impos-sible.

I should like to take this opportunity of expressing my gratitude to Messrs. Blewetts of Southwick, Sussex for cutting me a font of type enabling both elite and italic elite to be written on the same typewriter. My sincere thanks are also due to Mr. Cubberley of Typewriter Exports Ltd. for his adroitness and speed in fitting the new type to my machine.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The books listed below are with very few exceptions (these being all modern works) extracted from an article by Dr. P.E.H. Hair and fr-om supplementary notes supplied by him. The article 'Freetown And The Study Of West African Languages' appeared in Bulletin de l'I.F.A.N., T.XXI, sér. B, Nos. 3-4, 1959.

On Page 580, the author states :- 'Before the nineteenth century, little scholarly interest was shown in African Languages. Europeans visiting West Africa occasionally collected words and phrases : but such collections were casual and intended only for the practical use of travellers, and no serious attempt seems to have been made to stu-dy any of the languages in detail'.

(Page 582) 'Much of the early linguistic work was both inadequate and unsound, even if considered only from the point of view of learning to speak the languages. But after about 1840 there was a rapid improvement : more languages were tackled : adequate vocabularies were prepared : the grammatical structure of West African languages wa-s investigated and (with certain reservations, notably as to the con

-tribution of tone) was soon fairly well understood ; and, not least, a reasonable standard orthography was introduced.'

(Page 580) 'In the nineteenth century, the reformed churches of Europe began to send out Christian missionaries to Africa, whose beliefs included that of the value of offering to Africans copies of the Christian scriptures translated into their own languages. It was neces -sary therefore, for the missionaries to learn and to study African la -nguages. Most of the work done on West African languages between 18-00 and 1875 was done by Christian missionaries.'

(Page 585) 'An attempt to answer the question 'how important was the work done in, or via Freetown in the period 1800-1875?' can be made by comparing the output of Freetown with the total output of linguistic works about West Africa in the period.

Much linguistic work was done elsewhere on the Coast (by persons living elsewhere or closely connected with these parts) during the period, particularly in the later decades, and particularly by French writers in Senegal. I draw my information about what follows mainly from a most useful and comprehensive publication of Institut Francais d'Afrique Noire 'Inventaire Linguistique de l'A.O.F. et du Togo' by Lavergne De Tressan 1953. Apart from the Freetown school, a number of other students, British by birth or with mainly British connections, contributed.'

(Page 586)'After 1875, Freetown's contribution to the study of West African languages gradually declined, and in the present century has been almost nil. Partly, this was due to the rise of other centres of intellectual activity in West Africa : partly, to the shift of intellectual interest, in Europe and Africa, from the missions to other agencies of social and cultural change.

The most obvious point however, is that the change was associated wi -th the cessation of recruitment by the C.M.S. of German nationals. Al -though credit is due to this British mission for the encouragement it gave to linguistic study, it has to be recognised that none of the more distinguished workers were British nationals.

Nylander, Schön, Koelle, Schlenker, Reichardt were all Germans : and when the C.M.S. required a standard orthography, it consulted Lepsius in Germany. It is not surprising therefore, that after 1875, much of the work done on West African languages was no longer done in English, and the leading names were those of Frenchmen or Germans (e.g. Delafosse, Westermann). Only since about 1930, have British scholars again made a major contribution to West African language studies (e.g Ward, Abraham).

One other point is worth making. In the period 1800-1875, the first generations of literate West Africans made a significant contribution to the study of their languages. But since then, very little has been done by West Africans : and when the revolutionary advance in education and scholarship in other fields is considered, this failure to con

-tinue and extend linguistic study is particularly disappointing.

The early interest was to no small extent associated with the only institute of higher education then existing in West Africa, Fourah Bay Institution and College. Are the present institutes of higher learning in West Africa doing all they can, not only to encourage the stu-dy of local languages, but to see to it that this study is undertaken, not only by foreign students, but to an increasing extent by those to whom the languages are a mother tongue ?'

1852 'Isuama Ibo Primer' by Schön.
1854 'Polyglotta Africana' by Koelle.
1859 'Expedition' by Crowther and Taylor.
1861 'Oku Ibo' (grammatical elements of the Ibo language) by Schön .
1859 J.C. Taylor wrote 'The Gospel on the Banks of the Niger' in collaboration with Crowther, contributing an appendix of Ibo Proverbs. 1859 Isumana Ibo Katekism. 1861 revised Crowther's 'Ibo Primer' . 1860-1871 Taylor translated part of the Prayerbook and Bible into Ibo.
1871-1876 F.W. Smart produced Bible translations in Igbo.
1882 Vocabulary of the Ibo Language : Ibo-English by Crowther.
1883 - - - - - : English-Ibo by Schön.
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In the original manuscript Dr. Abraham had divided the table of contents into several parts which were interspersed through the work. These parts have been gathered into a unified Table of Contents and placed at the beginning. This results in a pagination which is somewhat different from that to which the numerous cross-references refer.

To assist the student the following table of page corrections is furnished:-

Pages 34-37 (Deduct 3) i.e. for p.34 read p.31
Pages 38-90 (Add 1) i.e. for p.38 read p.39
Pages 93-106(Deduct 1) i.e. for p.93 read p.92
Pages 107-115 (Add 2) i.e. for p.107 read p. 109

Pages 1-30 and 118 onwards are as referenced

SECTION A.
THE SOUNDS.

1. VOWELS.

(a) 'a' is pronounced as it is in the French word 'bal' (open front vowel) :- àlà 'the ground'. N.B. The accents above the letters indicate the musical tone and should be ne-glected till the reader arri-ves at Section B where they will be explained.

(b) 'e' is a half-open sound as in English 'net' (front vowel' :- élékíré 'hour'.

(c) 'i' is a close sound as in English 'seat' (front vowel) :- íshi 'cooking'.

(d) 'ɩ' is a half-close front vowel combining the sounds of 'e' and 'i', but having more of the i-quality than of the e-quality :- ísɩ 'saying'.

(e) 'o' is the first element in the diphthong heard in English 'goat' (half-open back vowel) :- ígo 'buying'.

(f) 'ǫ' is the open sound(back vowel) heard in English 'hot' :- àtǫ́ 'three'.

(g) 'u' is the sound of French 'tout' (close back vowel) :- úrù 'profit'.

(h) 'ʊ' is similar to the vowel of English 'caught',but is a somewhat closer back vowel :- ʊ́lǫ̀ 'house'.

2. VOWELS WRITTEN DOUBLE.

(a) There are no diphthongs : vowels often stand in co-ntact, but each of them is pronounced with a separate br-eath-impetus - what is known as 'diminished breathing', - between them. Examples are :- ǫ́ meele 'he has done'. ǫ́ gèèshí 'he will cook'. ǫ́ nèèshí 'he cooks '. ǫ́ shiele 'he has cooked'.

(b) This process often occurs wh-en a vowel gives place to a vowel standing next to it, for the result of this elision is that, in com-pensation for the lost vowel, the surviving vowel (which is the 2nd of the two vowels)becomes doubled.

Thus, in 2a above, ǫ́ gèèshí is derived from ǫ́ gà èshí . ǫ́ nèèshí derives from ǫ́ nà èshí . ǫ́ dɩ́ níímé ʊ́lǫ́ can be elided into ǫ́ dɩ́ níí-mʊ́ʊ́lǫ́ 'he's in the house', where níímé itself is contracted from ná ímé 'in the centre of'.

NOTE. ᵀ (as in 5b.v, page 5) means 'consult ADDENDA page 121 onwards!

(c) Nasalised Vowels.

(i) I indicate that the vowel is nasalised by adding a dot level wi-th the top of the letter :- ánʊ̇· 'meat'. àhʊ̇· 'body'. (ii) Two nasalised vowels may occur in the same word :- ǫ́ hʊ̇.rʊ̇. 'he saw'.

(iii) More often than not, when we have h + nasalised vowel, this reacts backwards (i.e. what is cal-led regressive assimilation) and the prefix of a noun or Verbal Noun also becomes nasalised. Thus, ɩ́ + the root hʊ· 'seeing' becomes ɩ́·hʊ· 'act of seeing' (while prefixing í to a non-nasalised root such as -ri, leads to no nasalisa-tion :- íri 'eating'). í·hʊ́· 'a thing'. See below VOWEL HARMONY.

(iv) Often, the nasalised as well as the un-nasalised forms are permitted :- ízo = ízo· 'hiding' .

(v) But sometimes, nasalisation

changes the sense :- ɨ́hya 'fai-ling', BUT ɨ́·hya· 'bruising'.

(vi) Further examples of nouns obeying the rule in A.2. c iii above are :- í.hú. 'face'. ó·hi· 'theft'. ọ̀·hà· 'the public'.

3. SYLLABIC SOUNDS.

(a) M, N are often used as vowel-syllables having their own tones : as part of one and the same word, we use initial syllabic M- before its fellow-labial sounds M, B, F as well as before GB, KP, whereas we use syllabic N- before all other sounds including GH.

Examples

ḿma 'goodness' (N.B. I mark syllabic M, N as ṃ , ṇ). ḿbà 'town'. ṃ̀fé 'lightness'. ḿkpà 'importance'. ṃ̀gbwá 'wrestling

ṇ̀kaá 'this'. ṇ̀gwèrè 'lizard' . ṇ́ngụ̀rɨ́ 'happiness'. ṇ́wékèjé 'removal'. ṇ́tụ́kwàsɨ́ óbì 'trus-ting'. ṇ̀chɨ́cná 'leprosy'. ṇ́dɨ́ ụ́lọ̀ 'householders'.

ṇ̀nyìnyí 'ladder'. ṇ̀gaá 'here '. ṇ́ghọ́tá 'understanding something'. ṇ́jọ 'badness'. ṇ́lélé 'an examination'. ṇ́nà 'father' . ṇ́rá égo 'a fine'. ṇ̀só 'near' . ṇ́shí· 'poison'. ṇ́zú· 'chalk' . ṇ́hụ́·jú ánya 'pain'.

(aa) In line 6 of 3(a) above , substitute 'M, B, F, P, V ' for 'M, B, F'. Examples :- ṃ̀pì 'horn'. ḿváákà=ḿbáákà 'finger-nail'.

(b) We find central and final M̩, central N̩ and final -ṃ,-ng(4n iii below):- ṃ̀kpụ̀rụ̂ṃ̀kpṇ̀ 'headless worm'. ụ́lọ̀ḿ 'my house' . ṇ́tɨ́ṇ́tɨ́ 'slightly'. átáñ 'bell'. For final -ṃ, see Addenda 1.

(c) We have consonant + 2 syllabic M's in :- hṃ̂ṃ̀ 'fancy!'.

4. CONSONANTS.

(a) 'b' and 'd' as in English: - ébé 'place' : díbyà 'doctor' . (b) 'by' is palatalised 'b' as in ɨ́byà 'compressing' (pronounced ɨ́-byà not ɨ́b-yà).

(c) 'ch' has the same sound as heard at the beginning and end of 'church' :- ɨ́chọ 'looking for' : íchè 'thinking' : ɨ́chɨ̀ 'laughing'.

(e) (i) 'f' as in English : - ífe 'flying'. (ii) 'fy' is palatalised 'f' :- ɨ́fyọ 'washing' (pronounced ɨ́-fyọ NOT ɨ́f-yọ).

(f) (i) 'g' as in English : - ɨ́ga 'going'. (ii) 'gw' is labialised 'g', this 'gw' being pronounced as a single composite un-it :- ígwu 'louse' (pronounced í-gwu NOT íg-wu). (iii) For distinction between 'g', 'gw', see below ALTERNATIVE CONSONANTS.

(g) 'gh' is a voiced velar fr-icative where the friction is slight :- ṃ̀ gághɨ 'I did not go'. 'gh' is the voiced counterpart of the unvoiced velar fricative at the end of 'loch' as pronounced by the Scots.

(h) (i) 'gb' is a single,composite, implosive sound : ɨ́gbwa ''shooting' (where we say this as ɨ́-gbwa NOT ɨ́g-bwa). (ii) By many - including my collaborator - 'gb' is pronounced as implosive 'b'. (iii) 'gb' has a w-glide after it (i.e. it sounds 'gbw') before 'a' where (as in 4h.i above, I write 'gbw' si-nce the sound of the glide is here very obvious).

(iv) The glide is also heard before every other vowel, but this sound being less clearly audible, is not inserted in my script - it must however, not

be neglected.

Examples

ìgbé 'box' (sounded ìgbʷé). ígbòchì preventing' (sounded í-gbʷòchì. ígbọ 'vomiting' (so -unded í-goʷọ).

ígbu 'killing' (í-gbʷu).ígbụ 'sliding down' (í-gbʷụ).

(j) (i) 'h' as in English :- àhụ' 'body'. (ii) 'hy' is pala -talised 'h' and is pronounced as a single, composite sound :- íhyè 'making a mistake' (so -unded í-hyè NOT íh-ye). See H, HY in ALTERNATIVE CONSONANTS below.

(iii) 'hw' is labialised 'h' , this 'hw' being pronounced (as is 'gw' in 4f.ii above) as a single unit :- í·hwo· 'detaching seeds from maize-cob' (sounded as í·-hwo· NOT í·h-wo.)

(k) 'j' as in English :- íjè 'journey'.

(L) (i) 'k' as in English :- íkụ 'hitting'. (ii) 'kw' is labialised 'k' and is a single composite sound :- íkwa 'weeping'(sounded í-kwa NOT ík-wa). N.B. This word and others are pronounced in some parts of Ow -erri as aspirated KWH i.e. í-kwha, thus distinguishing this word from íkwa 'preparing'.

(iii) 'kp' is a single, composite, implosive sound :-íkpé 'lawsuit' (í-kpé NOT ík-pé) . It is pronounced with w-glide (i.e. KPW) before 'e', 'i','ɪ' but NOT before 'a' :- íkpe ' requesting' (sounded íkpʷe) . ìkpí 'billygoat' (sounded as ìkpʷí). ìkpáazụ' 'finally'.

(m) 'l' as English initial L :- íll 'burying'.

(n) (i) 'm', 'n' as in English :- íma 'knowing'. ínọ̀ 'remaining'. (ii) Syllabic Ṇ is pronounced NG (as in English 'si -ng') before K, G, W : NG : NW.

Examples

ọ̀gaá 'here' (vide 3 above) : sounded ìg-gaá . ọ̀kaá 'this' (so -unded ìg-kaá). ọ́wékèjé (4 sylla -bles) 'removal' (sounded ńg-wékè -jé). ọ́ngụ̀rí 'joy' (ńg-ngụ̀rí).

(iii) For this sound NG replac -ing final syllabic -ọ, see A.3b above.

(iv) The use of NG above is due to its position before K,G etc. (the same being true of the English words 'sink', 'sing' etc.).

(v) But this same sound NG (as in English 'sing') is employed in Ibo initially as an independe -nt sound in its own right e.g. íñụ 'drinking' : ọ́ ñụ̀rụ 'he drank'.

(o) 'nw' is labialised N where NW forms a single composite sound NGW :- ínwụ· 'dying' (soun -ded í-ngwụ· NOT íng-wụ·).

If we compare this sound with (n.ii) above, we see that the fi -rst part of ọ́wékèjé (that is to say :- ọ́wé) contains 2 syllables (ńg-wé) whereas in ọ́ nwèrè 'he possesses', nwè is only one syllable just as in í·nwụ· , there is only the one syllable nwụ (so -unded ngwụ·).

Further examples of NW are : - nwá 'child' (which under certain conditions to be mentioned later becomes disyllabic ọ́nwa and belongs to (n.ii) above : it begins in syllabic ọ́- and is follo -wed by a 2nd syllable whereas nwá is one syllable). ọ́nwá 'the moon' (sounded ọ́-ngwá NOT ọ́ng-wá

(p) 'ny' is palatalised 'n :-

ínye 'giving' (í-nye NOT ín-ye)

(q) (i) 'p' as in English : - ɨ́pɨ̀ 'squeezing'. (ii) 'py' is palatalised 'p' :- ɨ́pya 'folding' (ɨ́-pya NOT ɨ́p-ya).

(r) (i) 'r' is rolled R :-ɨ́ra 'licking'. (ii) 'ry' is palaalised 'r' :- ɨ́ryọ 'requesting

(s) 's' : 'sh' as in English: - ísè 'pulling' : íshí 'head' . N.B. These two sounds often interchange :- íshí=ísí 'head' : see ALTERNATIVE CONSONANTS.

(t) 't' as in English :- íte 'rubbing'. (u) 'v' is a variant of 'b' :- ɨ́vụ̀=ɨ́bụ̀ 'uprooting'. válá 'a sail'. (v)'w' as in English :- ɨ́wa 'shattering'.

(w) 'y' as in English :- íyi 'fixing a date'. (y) 'z' as in English :- ízi 'showing'.

(y) The glottal stop is rare but occurs in 'ó'è = 'ḿ'm̀ no !' (BUT éé = ḿḿ 'yes !').

(z) The sign ^ is ised to indicate a compound of some sort : in such cases, the word must be read as a whole, without any break at the sign ^ Thus : - ọ́nụ́·^áhya 'price'. z.i see addendá 28.

5. ELISION : VOWEL HARMONY :DROPPING OF SOUNDS.

(a) VOWEL HARMONY.

(i) We have two Groups of vowels, those inside each Group having an affinity with each other, whereas Group 1 vowels are in opposition to Group 2 vowels : we shall see this principle much employed in the verbs.

(ii) i o u e are Group 1.
ɨ ọ ụ a are Group 2.

(iii) The application of this rule means that in theory, the whole of the vowels in one and the same word must all belong to Group 1 or must all belong to Group 2.

Examples

íshí 'head' (both vowels are Group 1). ényí 'elephant' (both vowels are Group 1). ísè 'pulling' (both Group 1). ùdó 'peace' (both Group 1). òlé 'how much?' (both Group 1). élu 'up above' (both Group 1). éró 'mushroom' (both Group 1). ígo 'buying'(both Group 1). íbu 'lifting'. íde 'writing'. èhí·hyè 'daylight'.

All Group 2

ázụ̀· 'fish'. ányá 'eye'. àkɨ́dɨ̀ 'bean'. ụ́zọ̀ 'road'. ɨ́gụ 'reading'. ɨ́dɨ 'being in'.ɨ́bọ 'weeding'. ɨ́zà 'sweeping'.ánụ́· 'meat' . àfụ́fa 'Garden Egg'.

(iv) Of course, it is impossible to observe this principle in compounds, as each element retains its own vowels. Thus :- òdáakwụkwọ 'clerk' (from òdée + ákwụ́kwọ́ 'writer of letters').íwe-fụ̀ 'act of removing' (from íwè 'taking' + ɨ́fụ̀ 'going out').

(v) The principle is often broken in foreign words :- ọ̀rọ́ọ̀sì 'rice' (from English) = òsìkápá (from Hausa shìṇkáfá). létà 'a letter'. mírí sódà 'sodawater'.

(vi) It may also be broken in true Ibo words :- árò 'plan' :ụ̀mì 'marrow, pith'. áká 'hand' :ákéèkpà = ákéèkpè 'the left hand'.

(vii) See ALTERNATIVE VOWELS .

(viii) In the past tense of verbs, we have vowel harmony, in fact vowel-identity. This tense is formed by suffixing -r to the vowel of the verb-root to form a new final syllable.

Examples

4

íbu 'carrying' : ó bùrù 'he ca-rried'. íbì = íbè 'cutting' : ḿ bìrì = ḿ bèrè 'I cut'. ígo 'buying' : í gòrò 'you bought'. ɨ́zụ 'buying' : ɨ́ zụ̀rụ̀ 'you bought'. ɨ́nọ̀ 'remaining' : ḿ nọ̀rọ̀.

(ix) See A.2c above.

(b) ELISION.

(i) Words are very often elided before another word where the 1st word ends in a vowel which is immediately followed by the initial vowel of the 2nd word' :- ụ́làákwụ́kwọ́ 'school'(< ụ́lọ̀ ákwụ́kwọ́). N.B. The sign < means 'derived from'.

náákà 'in the hand' (< ná ákà 'in the hand'. òdáàbụ̀ 'singer'(< òdé àbụ̀). ìkpáazụ· 'finally' (< ìkpé azụ·).

(ii) See A.2b above.

(iii) When a vowel is elided, it is the 2nd vowel which ousts the 1st vowel (regressive assimilation) e.g. we see above that in ụ́làákwụ́kwọ́, the -ọ̀ is lost and doubled a- remains. So too, ìkpè + àzụ́· becomes ìkpáazụ· 'finally' :see Addenda 2 :page 105, No. 10 : foot Page 63.

(iv) THREE SUCCESSIVE VOWELS

In this case, the three are reduced to two. The imperative of íbu is buoó 'carry!', but when objective pronoun is suffixed, this becomes buóṃ 'carry me!'. See Addenda 14.

A further instance is as follows. The word -nye which is suffixed to verbs to add the idea of 'into' has an alternative -ghi and another alternative -i : this -i is used after Group 1 vowels, but after Group 2 vowels, we use -ɨ , not -i.

The verb ɨ́mịnye has past tense mịnyèrè : Thus, ḿ mịnyèrè ánụ́· nà ụ̀gùgụ́ = ḿ mịghìrì ánụ́· nà ụ̀g-ụ̀gụ́ = ḿ mịìrị ánụ́· nà ụ̀gụ̀gụ́ 'I impaled the meat on the skewer'. Here the verb-root mị + the -i of -ghì becomes mịì after the GH has dropped out.

Similarly, when we drop -gh-, ó tìnyèrè=ó tìghìrì=ó tììrì 'he inserted'. The benefit- forms of the past tense (20b, Page 78) double their internal vowels, so,ó tìnyèèrè 'he inserted for himself' = ó tìghììrì = ó tììrì (same form as above for non-personal) : the dropping of -gh- should produce ó tìììrì, but as we cannot have 3 successive vowels, we drop one vowel and have ó tììrì. See 10k.ii, Page 49 . see Page 38 foot.

(v) For a further of GH disappearing, see ɨ́ghà in Dictionary

(vi) When elision occurs between syllables atdifferent tone-levels, a gliding tone arises : we see an example of this in ụ́làákwụ́kwọ́ 'school' 5b.i above) : ụ́lọ̀ ends in low tone and ákwụ́-kwọ́ begins in high tone, so we have àá where the voice rises in an unbroken sweep from low to high.

In ọ́júùgò, the voice descends in an unbroken sweep, as this elision of high (ọ́jɨ́) and low (ùgò gives us ọ́júùgo 'type of kolanut'. See ASSIMILATION : GLIDING TONES

6. ASSIMILATION.

(a) I apply this term to cases of elision between a verb or a conjunction and a following subject-personal pronoun.

(b) ḿ cèrè sɨ́ ọ́ gèèshí ụ́ri 'I thought he would cook food' = ḿ

5

cèrè sóó gèèshí ɩ́rí . ḿ cèrè s̩ ó shìrì ɩ́rí = ḿ cèrè sóó sh -ìrì ɩ́rí 'I thought she had co -oked the food' etc. (v ɩ́s̩ ' saying' in Dictionary).

(c) This assimilation often takes place with the commonly-used conjunctions nà : kà 'th -at...' and this is sometimes accompanied by change of tone. Thus :- kà ó nyé 'in order th-at you give' = kèé nyé . kɩ́ byá = kà ɩ́ byá 'that you may come'. kà ó nyé 'that he may give' = kòó nyé . kà ó byá = kòó byá 'that he may come'. ɩ́ s̩ nà ɩ́ gàábyá = ɩ́ s̩ nɩ́gáá byá 'then you said that you wo -uld come' : see nà, kà in dic -tionary.

(d) See ELISION : GLIDING TO -NES.

7. ALTERNATIVE FORMS OF VOWELS.

(a) In the examples below, I have marked those cases which accord with vowel-harmony (A5. a.ii above) with a star * and those cases which transgress the rule, with two stars ** . The sign + indicates that such cases are only allowed after Group 1 vowels.

(b) e = o (i) regularly in imperative of 1-syllable ve -rbs ending in -u :- ɩ́bu 'carrying' : bueó = buoó 'lift up !'* (ii) occasionally as in :- ú́wèrò = ú́wòrò 'sloughed skin of snake'.

(c) e = a ** regularly in (i) perfect tense of 1-syllable verbs+ :- ó shiele = ó shie -la 'he has cooked'. ó buole = ó buola 'he has carried'. (ii) imperative negative of the same verbs+ :- é shile = é shila 'do not cook!'.

(iii) The same applies to the verb-suffixes -te = -ta+ : -we = -wa+ :- verb ɩ́ruwe whose perfect is ó ruwele = ó ruwala ' he is about to arrive'. ɩ́lite whose perfect is ó litele = ó litala 'he has stood up'.

(d) e = i* occasionally :- ó bìrì = ó bèrè 'he cut'.

(e) o = o ** :- (i) ó nèshí = ó nòshí 'he is cooking'+ :ó gèè -shí = ó gèèshí+ 'he will cook' (see habitual, present, future in Section H for the reason of these alternatives). (ii) occa -sionally :- ó́kwṵ́ = ó́kwú 'lid'.

(f) o = a* (i) regularly in imperative of 1-syllable verbs ending in -ṵ :- ɩ́zṵ 'buying' : zṵóó = zṵáá 'buy!'. (ii) occa-sionally :- ɩ́fyo ȧhṵ́. = ɩ́fya ȧh-ṵ́. 'washing the body' : ' taking a bath'.

(g) o = ṵ* : occasionally ò́tá-bà = ṵ̀tábà 'tobacco'.

(h) u = ṵ ** : occasionally :- ó́kwú = ó́kwṵ́ 'lid'.

(j) u = i* occasionally :-ùdú-de = ùdíde 'spider'.

8. Alternative Prefixes.

The vowel-prefix of many nouns has a syllabic alternative : -ṵ́bòchɩ̀ = ṵ̀bòsì 'day' (here, curiou -sly, -chì has been converted in -to -chɩ̀ in order to fit the wo -rd into the scheme required by group 2 vowels ṵ́ - ò - ɩ̀, though -chì (which = the last syllable of ṵ̀bòsì) is the real vowel as ṵ́bòcɩ̀ derives from bò 'dawning ' + chí 'sky' : we say e.g. cí à bòóláá 'day has dawned'.

ɛ́gbére = ṵ̀gbéré 'haft of hoe'. ìkpó = ḿ-kpó 'pile, heap'. ɩ́kàs̩ = ṵ̀kàs̩ 'cocoyam'. ò̀kpṵ̀kpó = ṵ̀kpṵ -kpó 'bed'.

9. ALTERNATIVE FORMS OF CONSONANTS.

(a) In the following instances, the alternatives given are merely sporadic alternatives in use and not falling under any phonetic rule. Even in the cases marked ʷ, although such examples show the use of sounds related to one another, yet the deduction cannot be drawn from the fact that in this specific word L=R, that every L=R.

(b) B=V :- íbú = ívú 'a load'. ábụ́· = ávụ́· 'pus'. It would be true to say that every V=B, but that not every B=V.

(c) S=C ʷ :- ọ́sụ̀ =ọ́chụ̀ a clicking sound indicating disgust . ụ́bọ̀chị̀ = ṁbọ̀sì 'day (8 above).

(d) S=SH : apparently, it is the rule for these two sounds to be interchangeable in every case in Ibo as in Yoruba :- ísí =íshí 'head'. íshi = ísi 'cooking'.

(e) G=D :- ígìdè = ídìdè 'worm'.

(f) GW=W :- ígwùzò = íwùzò ' erecting'.

(g) (i) GW=G ʷ:- ígwùzò = ígùzò 'erecting' (see (f) above). (ii) But normally, GW is sharply differentiated from G : - ọ́gwọ̀ 'palmwine' BUT ọ́gọ̀'bridepr-ice'. ígù ọ́kwụ 'palmbranch ' BUT ígwu 'louse' : ígú ' millstone for pounding grain'.

(h) GH=W :- éwú = éghú 'goat

(j) HW=F ʷ :- íhwo·lata = ífo-lata 'the becoming cool'.

(k) HW=HY :- ì·hwò· = ì·hyè· 'light' (of sun, lamp).

(L) H=HY :- áhị́rị = áhyị́rị 'a row, a line drawn on paper'.

(m) HY=FY ʷ :- ị́hyọ = ị́fyọ 'washing'. íhyo = íhye = ífyo 'throwing a cloth over one's body'.

(n) Normally, K is sharply differentiated from KW :- ákụ́ 'shelled palmnuts' BUT ákwụ́ 'unshelled palmnuts'. ọ́kụ́ 'firewood' : ọ́kwụ́ 'oilpalm'. íkwú 'one of one's relatives'. ìkù ánya 'eyebrow'. ékwú 'oven-stones on which cooking is done' : BUT ékú 'ladle'. (ii) However, we find Chúkú = Cúkwú 'God' (< Chí úkwú ' The Great God') : it may well be that this word was deliberately changed from Chúkwú to show respect. A similar process of 'avoidance' is seen in the English exclamation 'zounds!' which derives from 'God's wounds!' and in the German exclamation 'Potz tausend!' where 'Potz' has been substituted for Gottes tausend!.

(o) KW = HY :- -kwa = -hya (verbal suffix) 'again'. Thus:- ídekwa = ídehya 're-writing'.

(p) K=HY :- íke = íhye 'tying'

(q) L=N :- íkóní ụ́kwụ = íkólí ụ́kwụ 'leg-irons'.ʷ See (r).

(r) L=R ʷ :- ị́rụ· ọ·rụ· = ị́lụ ọlụ 'working'. àrị̀rị = àlị̀lị̀ ' disrespectfulness'. The interchange between L and R, N is quite common in Ibo.

(s) L=Y :- ụ́lọ̀ = ụ́yọ̀ 'house' .

(t) NW=M :- máamịrị =nwáamịrị 'urine'.

(u) NW=H :- ánwụ́·rụ̀· = áhụ́·rụ̀· 'smoke'.

(v) NW=W :- ínwu·te=íwu·te ' 'causing regret to person'.

(w) R=D ʷ : ùhúdachi=ùhúrúchi 'evening'.

(y) R=F :- áfọ̀ = árọ̀ 'year .

(x) R=H :- ʃrɔ̀ = ʃhɔ̀ 'choos-ing'. nʃʃ·hú· = nʃírú· 'in fr-ont'. ʃrahu· u·ra = ʃrarу· u·ra 'sleeping'. ɔ̀·hà· = ɔ̀rà· 'the public'.

(x.i) R=GH :- ʃrɔ̀ = ʃghɔ̀ 'cho-osing'.

(x.ii) W=B w :- ɔ́ bɔ̀ ɔ́zɔ̀ = ɔ́ wɔ̀ ɔ́zɔ̀ 'he is the king'. See also :- àgàlàbà : ʃgawa in the Dictionary. (x.iii) See ADDENDA 12.

SECTION B.

THE TONES.

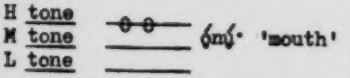
1. We have three principal tone-levels, high, mid and low, each spaced out at an equal interval of pitch from one ano-ther.

2. The high tone is marked ´ : lack of marking indicates a mid tone and the low tone is marked `. If we have a high + a low tone, then we have a dou-ble interval which misses out the mid tone, and the same is the case for low + high where we proceed straight from low to high, missing out mid.

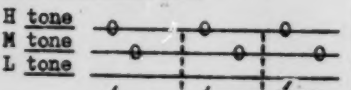
To sum up, from high to mid is 1 interval, as is mid to hi-gh : from mid to low is 1 in-terval, as is also from low to mid. But from high to low is 2 intervals. These principles al-so apply to the tones which lie below low and with which we shall deal shortly.

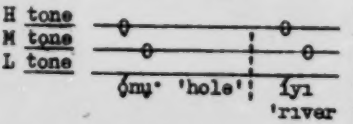
In Section A above, some of the tone-markings were simpli-fied, in order at that initial stage, to confine the marking of the tones to H (i.e. high), M (i.e. mid), and L (=low) and so avoid confusing the reader. These abbreviations H, M, L wi-ll be used from now on.

Examples of HH words.

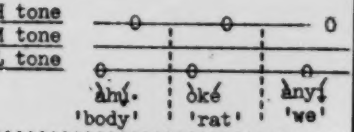


Examples of words H + M

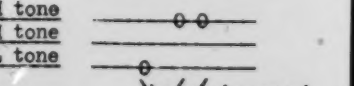




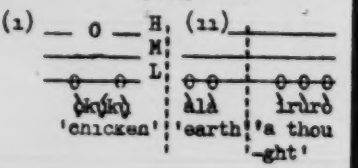
Examples of L + H



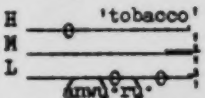
Example of L + HH



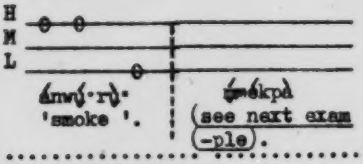
Examples of (i) LML. (ii) LL. (iii) LLL.



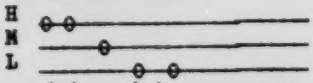
Examples of HL : HLL.



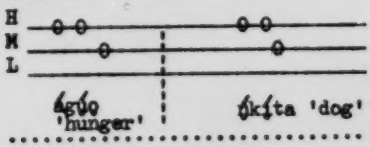
Example of HHL



Example of HHM LL



Examples of HHM



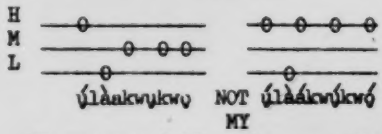
3. GLIDING TONES.

(a) When a vowel stands next to a syllabic sound (or next to vowel identical with itself) in a syllable with which such vowel has some syntactic connection, then if the 2nd element is at a different tone-level from such vowel, a rising or falling tone arises by this linkage of vowel to vowel or vowel to syllabic sound.

(b) As seen in Section A.5bvi two adjacent vowels not originally identical may become so by elision e.g. ụ́lọ̀ ákwụ́kwọ́ becomes :- ụ́làákwụ́kwọ́ 'school'. ọ́jị́ ùgò becomes ọ́júùgò 'type of kolanut' : in future, I shall employ the sign > for 'becomes' e.g. ụ́lọ̀ ákwụ́kwọ́ > ụ́làákwụ́kwọ́ .

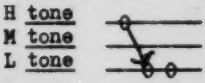
(c) Dr. Ida Ward states that a low tone + a high tone does not reach high, but remains at mid. This is certainly so for Hausa, but never so in Ibo.

On this basis, we should, were her statement correct, have :-

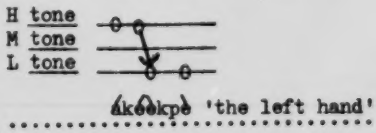


There is a difference in the meanings of Low + High and Low + Mid, as we see in òké à : òke å in 5e.ii on Page 15.

Example of tone falling from high to low as part of the inherent, original tones of such word



Tone falling from high to low through elision causing two identical vowels at different tone levels. Example :- By eliding áká èkpè , we have :-



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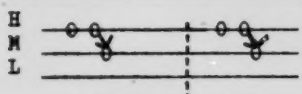
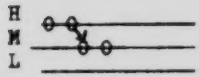
Tone falling from H to M in the original form of the word.



ǫ́jǫ́ǫ 'bad' ágụ́ụ 'hunger'

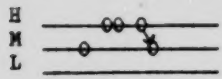
Tone falling from H to M owing to two adjacent vowels at different levels. From ǫ́sǫ́ 'running', we get :-



ǫ́sǫ́ǫsǫ 'quickly'

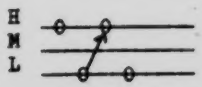
Tone falling from H to M due to to suffixing of syllabic -m̩ .

We have kpachíéré 'darn for another person!' and by suffixing -m̩ , we get :-



kpachíérém̩ 'darn for me!'.

Tone rising from low to high owing to 2 original vowels at different pitches. From :- ǫ́ nà ázà we have :-

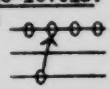


'he sweeps'.

ǫ́ nàázà

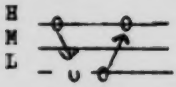
Similarly, àkpà + áfǫ > àkpàáfǫ 'intestines'.

Tone rising from low to high due to elision of 2 different vowels at different tone-levels. ụ́lǫ̀ + ákwụ́kwǫ́ gives us



'school' ụ́làákwụ́-kwǫ́

Two gliding tones in the same word: falling tone then rising tone



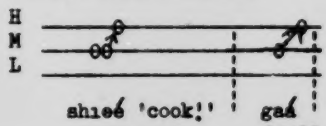
'my coat'.

kóòtùḿ̩

(d) It should be noted that the tone is shown on EVERY syllable , either by a sign (´ `) or in the case of mid tone, by absence of any sign.

Thus :- ágụ́ụ (H + tone falling from H to mid) mééya (HHM). ǫ́ mààrà (HLLL). dûm̩ (tone falling from H to L). níile (tone falling from H to M + M).

(e) Tone rising from M to H as a grammatical feature

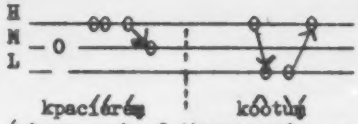


shieé 'cook!' gaá 'go!'

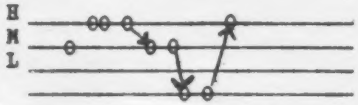
4. TONE-SWITCHING.

(a) Where, through standing after a previous word, the original tone of a word starts at a pitch different from its normal tone-level, then the pitch of the words which follow must be switched to tones differing from their normal tones. so as to maintain the original intervals between tone and tone.

(b) In the 3rd example in Column One opposite, we have kpachíérém̩ : at the head of the present Column, we have kóòtù-ḿ . But, if we join these two words together to form a sentence, we must change the tones, as the second word begins at the level where the first tone ends. Thus, we have :-

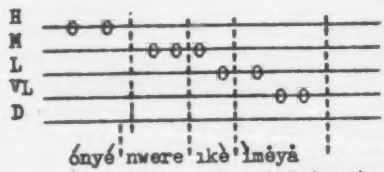


(where each of these words is said in isolation and not joined to the other word). BUT: -



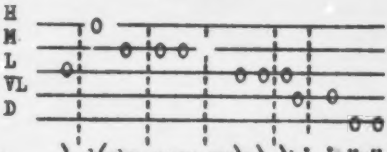
** kpachíérém̩ koòtùḿ̩ 'darn my coat for me!' (where the two words are joined in a context to form a sentence). Here, the first part of the 2nd word (normally kó) has fallen to mid, as the final syllable of the 1st word (-m̩) has mid tone. In the word kóòtù, there are two intervals of tone between ó and ò ; so, in order to retain this double interval, we must lower the final syllable (-tù) to one tone below low tone (-tů).

(c) We see tone- switching applied practically in the sentences below, the second ofwhich maintains the original inter-relationship of tones displayed in the first sentence :-



ónyé'nwere'ikè'ìmèyà
'he who has the ability to do it'.

In the sentence below, however, the words ò dígh̩ precede the sentence above and this fact displaces the words after ò dígh̩ one pitch downwards. Thus :-



ò dígh̩ onye nwèrè ìkè ìmëyä
' there is nobody who has the ability to do it'.

.....

(cc) Switching often necessitates using 3 levels below L : occasionally we need 6 below L :-

H (=high)	_____	marked ´
M (=mid)	_____	no mark
L (=low)	_____	marked `
VL(=very low**	_____	marked ˙
D (=deep)	_____	marked ¨
P (=profound)	_____	marked ¯

For the tones below P, see the diagram at the top of Page 65.

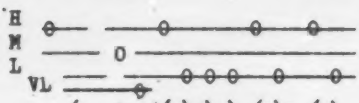
** ì denotes 'i' with very low tone, while undotted 'i' is mid.

(d) ORIGINAL LOW TONE.

Once we reach an inherent low tone (such as the 2nd syllable in ụ́lò 'house') or its representative on a still lower tone to which it has been forced down through switching, then we must return to the real high tone for the intonation of a syllable which is high by nature (such as the 1st syllable of ụ́lò).

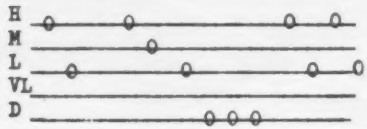
In the example at the head of this column, there is no word which has an inherently lowsyllable.

But, in the next 3 examples, we have inherently low tones which are here indicated by * . In the 3rd example, we find ụ̀zō which is the level which the normal ụ́zò is lowered to due to the switching-pressure from above.



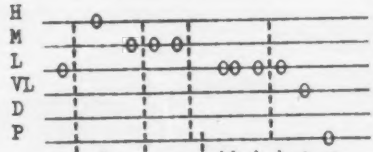
nwóke ȧ* dózìfèrè ụ́lọ̀* ókè
'this man adorned the house in the most splendid fa-shion'.

.....



ụ́mụ̀* nwóke dòzïfërë* ụ́lọ̀*ókè
'the men adorned the house in the finest way'.

.....



ọ̀ dị́ghị onye mààrà ụ̀zọ̇ ā*
'there's no person who knows this road'.

We have now seen the marking of the 3 main + 3 switched tones. So, in the case of mààrà, the L tone is indicated by ` : in ụ̀zọ̇ , the dot shows VL tone : in dòzïfërë, the 2 dots show D tone : in ā the ¯ shows P tone.

(e) In the 'Introduction To The Ibo Language', Dr. Ida Ward is very accurate in her hearing of the tones in isolated words and in her diagrammatic delinea-tion of the pitch of syllables inside such words.

But in her diagrams of the to-nes of a sentence, she has, in my opinion, crammed the interva-ls between the levels together and deprived them of the air they need to breathe.

Dr. Ward regards the whole tone-range as fitting into a box - all six or more tones , so that in an isolated word like ụ́lọ̀ 'house', ụ́ touches the lid of the box, while lọ̀ sits on the bottom of the box : if we compare the final word ụ́lọ̀ on her Diagrams (1) and (2) below, we see that in Diagram 1, the space betwe-en ụ́ and lọ̀ (as shown by the short lines -) is much greater than that ¯ in Diagram 2 for the same word - this is an impossibility. On the Diagrams, before they have been reduced photographically, the interval between the two short lines is 1.5 tenths of an inch on 1, but only 1 tenth of an inch on Diagram 2.

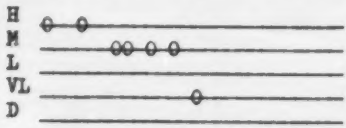
On Dr. Ward's system, no ma-tter how many levels of tone there may be in a sentence, these must be compressed into the box, thus proportionately reducing the interval between them and causing them to jost-le each other more and more.

These are her two diagrams for the two sentences respectively :- ónyé maara ụlọ̀ (No. 1) : ọ̀ dị́ghị onye mààrà ụ̀zọ̈ 2) : (1) means 'the one who knows the house' and (2) means 'there's nobody who knows the house'.

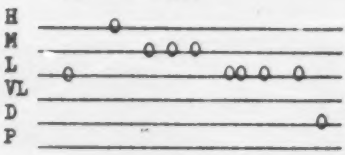
(1) (¯¯---¯) (2) (¯¯---¯---¯)

In (2), ọ̀ dị́ghị (which ends in a mid tone) is prefixed to Sentence (1) with the result that ónyé which begins (1) has to be switched down to onye (two mid tones) in Sentence (2) and that the rest of (2) is one pitch below (1).

The fact is that any tones lower than the normal high, mid or low protrude through the bottom of the box and are lower than its bottom :-



ónyé maara ụzọ̀



ọ̀ dígh̨ı onye mààrà ụ̀zọ̈

....

5. TONE CHANGES.

(a) HH Nouns

(i) A noun HH used as 2nd element of a genitive, be-comes HM after a preceding noun which ends in H or in L:-

Examples

íshí 'head'. ényí 'elephant' : íshí ényi 'the head of the elephant'.

úrù 'profit' : ọ́kụ́ 'fire' . úrù ọ́kụ 'the benefit of fire'

ṅkù 'wing' : égbé 'hawk' . ṅkù égbe 'the hawk's wing'.

(ii) This rule does not apply to nouns of foreign origin :- tọ́rọ́ 'threepence' (< Hausa táró 'threepence'< English 'three'). jóró 'corn'(< Hausa géró). So :-

Examples

ọ́ dàràṃ ṅrá tọ́rọ́ 'he fined me threepence'. nwoó jóró 'th-resh the corn!' (N.B. NOT tọ́rọ : NOT jóro) : for the im-perative nwoó, see (iii) be-low.

(iii) In Section H.8 L we see that the imperative is one of the cases where the tone of the follo-ing noun is influenced in the sa-me way as 5a.i above :-

Examples

kpalité íshi 'raise the head!'. ọ́·rụ́· 'the work' : rụọọ́· ọ́·rụ· ' 'do the work!'.

(iv) But, in such cases, we retain unchanged the tones of a HH noun which stands as 1st noun of 2 nouns in the genitive, or as 2nd noun of a genitive combination of 3 nouns :-

1st of 2 nouns in genitive

kpalíté íshí ényi 'lift the head of the elephant!'. rụọọ́· ọ́·rụ́· ụ́lọ̀ 'do the housework!'. rụọọ́ · ọ́·rụ́· à 'do this work!'. rụọọ́· ọ́·rụ́· áhụ̀· 'do that work!'. ụ́lọ̀ ọ́·rụ· 'factory' : ụ́lọ̀ ọ́·rụ́· ìtè ' factory where pots are made'.

2nd of genitive-combination of 3 nouns

kpalíté ụ́kwụ́ ényí à 'raise the foot of this elephant!' BUT kpalíté ụ́kwụ́ ényi à 'lift this foot of the elephant!'.

(v) The HH 2nd noun of 3·nouns in a genitive-combination (áh-yá 'market') does not follow th-is rule when it is part of a fi-xed compound : as in the case of ụ́kwụ́ ényí à above, such 2nd noun is the second part of the 1st genitive (ụ́kwụ́ ényi) and simultaneously, the first part of the second genitive (ényí à) :-

ọ́nụ́·^áhya 'price' : ọ́nụ́·^áhya ụlọ̀ 'the price of the house'. See further details in 5b.iii below.

(b) HM Nouns

(i) In a genitive-combination , a 1st noun having tones HM becomes and remains HH :-

Examples

natá égó ụ́lọ̀ 'receive the mo-ney (égo) accruing on the hou-se!'. kwụọọ́ égó à 'pay out th-is money!'. Words ụ́gwọ'debt' : ọ́nụ· 'burrow, lair' :- kwụọọ́ ụ́gwọ́ ụ́lọ̀ 'pay the rent!':kwụọọ́ ụ́gwọ́ à 'pay this debt!' :as 2nd word + à :- ḿgbwàkọ́ ụ́gwọ à is debt'. (ii) nwóke : see Ad-denda 4.

(iii) As in A.5a.v (Page 13) the 3rd(originally HH)noun among 4 nouns keeps the M tone it has acquired, when 2nd + 3rd nouns form a compound:-ḿ nwèrè íshí égó^áhya à 'I have plenty of capital for this'.

(c)HHM : HM nouns

(i) Normally,HHM nouns are immune from change of tone :- ṅkịta ụlọ̀ 'the house-dog'.

(ii) ḿkpụ́rụ 'seed' forms an exception and becomes ḿkpụ́rụ́:- ḿkpụ́rụ́ óshíshí 'fruit'. ḿkpụ́rụ́ ánya 'eyeball'.

(iii) ḿkpịsị varies between HHM and HHH according to the established usage in the case of the noun which follows it:- ḿkpịsị akwụkwọ 'pen, pencil' . BUT ḿkpịsị́ áka 'finger'.

(iv) HM noun which is subject of a verb becomes HH :-

Examples past tense :- ánwụ· 'sun' : ánwụ́· dàrà ' the sun set'. éze 'tooth' :ézé rèrèyá 'his teeth are decayed' . ụ́jọ 'fear' : ụ́jọ́ tụ̀rụ̀ḿ 'fear overcame me'.

present continuous : - ézé namịḿ 'my tooth is paining me'. íyi 'river' : íyí nèrú 'the river is flowing'. (iii) future :- íyí gèèrú ọ́sọ́ọsọ 'the river will flow fast'.

(v) The rule in 5c.iv just above does not apply to (a) HH which by a tone-rule has become HM :- ólú 'neck' : òkpókó ólu dị-yá 'he has goitre'. (b) HM noun beginning in consonant of the ty-pe described in NOUNS BEGINNING IN A CONSONANT further on in this Section :- míri zòrò 'rain fe-ll'. (c) HHM noun :- kịtịkpa gbwàrâḿ 'I got smallpox'.

5d SWITCHING

(i) A noun HH governed by a wo-rd which ends in M, becomes MM :- ányá 'eye' : íle anya 'looking at'. ọ́sọ́ 'running' : ịgbwa ọsọ 'the act of running'.

(ii) Similarly, under the same circumstances, a noun inherently HL or HM becomes M in its 1st sy-llable after previous M :- ígo ụlọ̀ 'buying a house'. ịkwụ ụgwọ̀ 'paying a debt (ụ́gwọ)'.

(iii) In 5a.iii, we have : - kpalíté íshi : in 5a.iv, we have kpalíté íshí ényi . But, in a co-mbination consisting of a HH no-un + verbal-noun, if the noun (íké) changes its tone by a rule requiring such change (as for ex-ample the future tense), then this changed form (íke) is retai-ned, as such combination is not in the genitive, but has the sen-se of 'in regard to' :-

Example

ínwe 'to get' : íké 'power, st-rength' : ọ́ gèènwííke imèyà 'he will be able to do it'.

(iv) Nouns having 3 or more syllables are not subject to any of the above tone-rules except that they must suffer switching where necessary :-

Examples

ṅdò óshíshí 'the shade of a tr-ee'. ịzụ oshishi 'buying timber

(v) Noun ending -ṃ doesn't affect next noun except as M2b, page 111: èsèmòókwú 'a quarrel' (derived from èsèṃ ókwú :see A.3b in ADDENDA). ètíṃ ṃkpú 'shouting'. ṃgbwàṃkpú 'funeral-ceremony' = àkwámózú· (from the compound àkwáṃ ózú·). ákpámákpá 'chatting' (from ákpáṃ ákpá : see A.3b in ADDENDA).

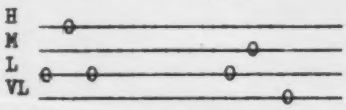
(e) 2 CONSECUTIVE L TONES.

(i) When we have two nouns in a genitive-combination, the 1st noun ending in L tone, and the 2nd beginning in L tone , then, provided the 2nd noun is not LH etc. (as is the case in 5f) below, the result is as follows :- we raise last syllable of 1st noun to M and we lower first syllable of 2nd noun to VL in order to obtain the required drop of two intervals such as we have in :- én-yí à 'this elephant'. ígbu en-yi à 'the killing of this elephant'.

Examples

ụ́lọ̀ 'house' : à 'this':ụ́lọ à 'this house'. úrù 'benefit' : ṇ̀kù 'wing' : úru ṇ̀kù 'the advantage gained from having wings'. òvù 'coucal' : ṇ̀ku òvù 'the wings of the coucal'. òkè 'share': òke à 'this share'.

(ii) Note the difference in tone between 'this rat'(òké) and 'this share' (òkè) :-



òké à 'this rat' òke à 'this share'

(iii) Two low tones may stand adjacently when they are not in genitive relationship, since the 2nd noun whose initial vowel is L, means 'in regard to' :- feéré átáṃ̃ṃ̂áka ahụ̀ ṇ̀zạ̀ 'raffle this watch! ' (i.e. 'cause this hand-clock to fly in regard to a raffling!').

5(f) 2nd noun LH

(i) In 5(f), the term LH includes LHH, LHHH etc., for whatever tones a LH noun changes into, we add one more syllable to its end for every original H, this added syllable having the same tone as the resultant preceding previous syllable.

(ii) We see just below, what is the effect of a noun in genitive relationship with a 2nd noun when the latter is LH :-

(iii) HH + LH > HHMM :- íshí òké > íshí oke 'the head of the rat'. N.B. > means 'results in... : becomes ....

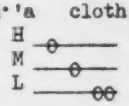
N.B. This rule does not hold good for words of foreign origin and these remain unchanged :- seé fòtó 'take a photo!' (NOT seé foto). wàyó 'cuteness' (< Hausa) : ónyé wàyó 'cute person' (NOT ónyé wayo).

(iv) LH + LH > LHMM :-àhụ́· òké > àhụ́· oke 'the body of a rat'.

(v) LL + LH > LHMM :- ìtè àdá > ìté ada 'the daughter's pot'.

(vi) LLL + LHH > LLHMMM :- ìrù-rò 'a thought' : ụ̀kpọ́rọ́ 'uselessness'. ìrùrò ụ̀kpọ́rọ́ > ìrùró ụkpọrọ 'idle thoughts'.

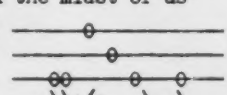
(vii) HL + LH > HMLL :- ákwà àhụ́· > ákwa àhụ̀· 'a cloth for the body'.



(viii) HLL + LHH > HLHMMM: ụ́bọ̀chị̀ èkpéré ('the da-y of prayer') > ụ́bọ̀chị́ ekpere 'Sunday'.

(ix) ọ́kpụ̀rụ̀kpụ̀ ṇshị́· > ọ́kpụ̀rụ̀kpụ́ ṇshị· 'a lump of excrement'.

(x) LHL + LH > LHMLL :- nèè-títì ànyị́ > nèètíti ànyị̀ 'in the midst of us'



H
M
L

nèètíti ànyị̀

(xi) HHM + LH > HHMLL :-ágụ́ọ ànyị́ > ágụ́ọ ànyị̀ 'our hunger. ḿkpụ́rụ ànyị́ > ḿkpụ́rụ ànyị̀ 'our seed'.

(xii) HHM + LHHH >HHHMMMM :- ḿkpụ́rụ òsìkápá > ḿkpụ́rụ́ osikapa 'a grain of rice' (see ḿkpụ́rụ in Dictionary).

(xiii) HM + LH > HHMM :- égo ànyị́ > égó anyị 'our mo-ney'.

N.B. gị́nị (B.5c.v) and nwóke (B.5b.iii in ADDENDA) preserve their tones :- gị́nị ọ̀zọ̀ 'what else?'. nwóke ọ̀zọ̀ 'another man'.

(xiv) HHL + LH > HHMLL :- ḿmékpà àhụ́· > ḿmékpa àhụ̀· 'trouble'.

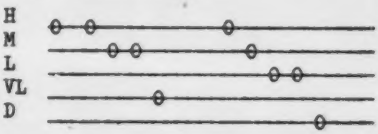
5(g) GENITIVE COMBINATION
2nd NOUN LHL.

(i) After a high or mid sylla-ble, the LHL word of the geni-tive-combination > MM + VL. (ii) After L syllable, we have LLD, the L syllable itself chan-ging to M. (iii) In (i), the mid syllable changes to H.

Examples

íshí ọ̀kụ́kụ̀ > íshí ọkụkụ̀ 'the chicken's head'. égo ọ̀kụ́kụ̀ > égó ọkụkụ̀ 'the cost of the chicken'. ụ́lọ̀ ọ̀kụ́kụ̀ > ụ́lọ ọ̀kụ̀kụ̈ 'the chicken-house'.

H
M
L
VL
D



íshí ọkụkụ̀ ụ́lọ ọ̀kụ̀kụ̈

(iv) If the LHL noun is itse-lf the subject of a further ge-nitive, it retains its tones :- ónyé 'person' : áhyá 'market' : ètítì 'centre' : ónyé ètítì áhya 'middleman'.

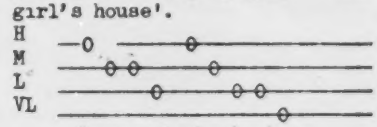
(v) Words of foreign origin do not obey the rules in i-iii above :- Ìgálà 'The Igala People' : ògìrì 'type of food': ògìri ìgálà 'type of food'(N.B. This follows Section B.5e.i above).

(5)h genitive-combination
2nd noun LHM

(i) We here follow the model of 5g.i-iii above, but the last syllable of a LHM noun is one tone higher than that of a LHL noun :-

ọ̀chị́cha 'cockroach': nwá ọchị-chà 'young cockroach': ụ́mụ̀ 'chi-ldren': ụ́mụ ọ̀chị̀chá 'young ros-ches'. ìfúru 'budding' :óshí-shí à à máálá ipurù 'this tree has budded' (N.B. The perfect is one of the tenses which have the same effect on a noun follo-wing it as does a noun in the cases so far dealt with). àgbọ́-ghọ 'girl' : ụ́lọ àgbọ̀ghọ̀ 'the girl's house'.

H
M
L
VL



nwá ọchịchà ụ́mụ ọ̀chị̀chá

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éze ọ̀chị́cha > ézé ọchịchà 'to-oth of the cockroach'.

(ii) ụ́gwọ 'debt', ọ́nụ. 'hole' keep mid tone :- ọ́nụ. ọ̀chị̀chà 'the burrow of the cockroach': cf. Section B5f.xiii in ADD-ENDA .

(iii) the final word is unchanged in :- ọ̀gbọ́ ụ́mụ̂ àgbọ́ghọ 'a bevy of girls' = ọ̀gbọ́ ụ́mụ̂ àgbọ́ghọ̀ (the 2nd alternative , far from being a model, is due to the various alternatives of the word for 'girl' : see àgbọ́-ghọ in Dictionary).

5(j) NOUNS HAVING ALTERNATIVE TONES

Examples :- ịchìrì éze=ìchírì éze 'molar tooth'. ágịrị́ ísh-i = ágịrị̀ íshi 'hair of he head'.

5(k) NOUNS TAKING SPECIAL TONES UNDER SPECIFIED CIR-CUMSTANCES

(i) For cases such as where ọ̀kwá ákwà > ọ̀kwá àkwà 'tailor', see AGENT. (ii) See in the Dictionary :- ájọ́ : ḿma : àgbọ́ghọ .(iii) ézè : see ADD-ENDA 8.

5(L) TONE OF WORDS DERIVED FROM VERBS

(i) Verbal Nouns follow the tones of the verbs from which they are derived (see Verbal Nouns 1, 2 in Section H : also the Section VERBAL NOUNS).

(ii) A host of other words derive from verbs and are formed by placing a prefix before the verb-root : such derivatives normally have the same tone as their verb-root :-

Examples

ókwú 'what is said' (< root kwú 'saying'). úwòrò 'sloughed off skin of snake' (< wò 'sloughing'). àkụ́ 'arrow' (< kụ́ 'hitting').

ábụ̀ 'song' (< bụ̀ 'singing') . íshì 'odour' (< shì 'smelling') . ùré 'stench' (< ré 'rotting' , 'putrefying').

(iii) But many such words have a tone which differs from the verb-root which gives birth to them

Examples

òkpú 'headwear' (< kpù 'put on a hat'). ḿmà 'knife' (< má 'stabbing'). íbéríbé 'fragment,morsel' (< bè 'cutting').

ágwú 'playing' (< gwù 'playing'). ọ́gwụ̀ óshíshí 'stump of tree'(< gwụ́ 'remaining as surplus'). ḿkpọ̀-rọ̀ 'calling' (< kpọ́ 'calling') .

ámụ̀ testicle' (< mụ́ 'give birth to child'). àmàrà 'lenience'(< má 'being good'). ózí 'errand,message' (< zì 'sending').

íjè 'journey' (< jé 'going') . ọ́dụ̀ 'tail' (< ịnọ̀ ọ́dụ̀ 'sitting down'). ótìtì 'hammer' (< tí 'hitting') : but òtítí 'hitting' has same tone as its verb-root. For re-duplicated forms varying in tone in accordance with various meanings, see Section VERBAL NOUN.

SECTION C.

WORDS BEGINNING IN A CONSONANT.

1 (a) Apart from words of foreign type like fòtó 'photograph' , Ibo nouns do not usually begin with a consonant (though all verbs do so).

(b) The few Ibo nouns which do begin in a consonant show by the way they behave in regard to their tones, the loss of an original low vowel initially and that they once were LH, LHH nouns like those in Section B.5f.

(c) When liable to no tone-rule which changes the tone of a LH, LHH noun, these consonant-nouns are themselves unaffected in tone :- hịaá ákwà míri 'wring the water (míri) out of the clothes!'.

(d) We can see that these words are derived from LH, LHH origin by the following fact . In Section E (Suffixed Pronouns), we find that the present habitual of a low-toned verb (like ịnọ̀ 'remaining') is formed from nàá 'is in course of' + Verbal Noun 2 ánọ̀ , this giving us :- ọ́ nàánọ̀ 'he is in the habit of remaining'.

This noun ánọ̀ ends in low tone, so by Section B.5e, when it is followed by a noun beginning in a further L tone, ánọ̀ raises its tone :- ṇ̀gaá 'here' : ọ́ nàánọ ṇ̀gàä 'he is often here'. Similarly :- áfọ́ nàátà ànyị́ becomes (by Section B.5f) :- áfọ́ nàáta ànyị̀ 'we continually suffer from stomach-ache'.

We see that the consonant-nouns are treated on the above model i.e. they are regarded as beginning in ì- and follow the example of ànyị́. Thus : - ọ́ nàámị̀ míri becomes ọ́ nàámị ṃmìrì 'he is sucking the water ' (N.B. The reason for the intrusive ṃ is explained below)

(e) These consonant-nouns when subject to change of tone after noun or verb, behave like the LH, LHH nouns of Section B.5f shorn of their initial vowel.

Examples where noun precedes

nwá 'child' : íshí ṇ́nwa 'the child's head' (as if < íshí ịnwá which by B.5f would become íshí ịnwa and from which we then lop ị- , leaving the stump -nwa . The intrusive ṇ́ is explained below in 5 :-

ụ́kwụ́ ṇ́nwa 'the leg of thechild '. jí 'yam' : égo 'money' : égó ji 'the cost of the yams' (B.5f. xiii) : from égo ìjí which > égó iji > égó ji .

òshí 'a cook' : ṇ́dị́ oshi 'cooks' (B.5f.iii) : mányá 'liquor'(< ịmányá) : ṇ́dị oshi ṃmànyà 'brewers of liquor'. Chí 'God' (< ìChí) : ọ̀ bụ́ghụ àhụ́· Chiyà 'it is not the natural body which his God created him with (< àhụ́· ìCh-íva > àhụ́· iChivà > àhụ́· Chiyà). áhị́rị 'row': áhị́rị jì 'row of yams on a farm' (B.5f.xi). **

Examples where verb precedes, being in a tense which changes tone of following noun .

ọ́ nàsọ́ ṃ́manya 'he's avoiding liquor'. dí 'husband' : ọ́ nàjá diya 'she's praising her husband'. míri 'water' : mánụ·'oil' : wụọọ́ ṃ́miri 'pour out the water!' : wụọọ́ ṃ́manụ· 'pour out some oil!'.

**add to (e) above :- with adjective after the noun. ụ́kwụ́ ṇ́nwaṃ 'my child's foot'. ụ́kwụ́ ṇ́nwaya 'his child's leg'. ụ́kwụ́ ṇ́nwaá 'this child's leg'. íshí ṇ́nwa ah-ụ̀· 'that child's head'.

2 (a) After a L tone, when the consonant-noun is the 2nd element of a genitive, the lost L initial vowel is compensated for by inserting an intrusive syllabic ṃ or ṇ , this being ṃ when the noun begins in consonantal m-, and ṇ when the noun begins in consonantal n- :

Examples when after noun

(i)

ótù ṇ́nwa 'one child'. àkpà

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ŋ́nwa 'womb' ('bag for child'). ḿmà ŋ́nwa 'the child's knife'. ùdù ḿmiri 'waterpot'. ụ́lọ̀ ḿmany-a 'tavern'. **

(ii) with adjective following

ótù ŋ́nwaṃ 'my only child'. ùdù ḿmiriṃ 'my waterpot'. ùdù ḿmiri-ya 'his waterpot'. ùdù ḿmirigị 'your waterpot'. ùdù ḿmiri á 'this waterpot'. ùdù ḿmiri ahụ̀ 'that waterpot'. ùdù ḿmiri ukwu 'the big waterpot'.

** ọ́ nààpáṃ ká ŋ́nwa 'he's coddling me'.

(b) Foreign words do not insert this intrusive syllabic ṃ or ṇ :- ụ́lọ̀ mótò 'garage'. láṃp mótò 'motor lights'.

(c) (i) As explained in Section B.3a, a gliding tone automatically arises from a vowel + a syllabic sound which is on a different tone-level. Thus, this is fulfilled in the following:-

òdùḿ 'lion'. ìgbùrù ŋ́gwa 'a large amount of goods (ŋ́gwá). nwá ṃ̀bá 'cat'.

(ii) In the cases seen just above in Para 2a, the condition for gliding tone is again fulfilled :- ùdù ḿmiri : ótù ŋ́wa : kà ŋ́nwa .

(iii) But, when a consonantal noun (like dí : jí) has no initial consonantal m- or n- (as in the case of original àkpà jí 'a bag of yams'), as we do not insert syllabic ṃ, ṇ before j-, d- etc., we lack the necessary apparatus of vowel + syllabic required to produce automatically a gliding tone.

This necessary rising, gliding tone has therefore to be brought about artificially, and so this is effected by adding a rising glide to the 1st word of the genitive-compound, so that instead of àkpà jí, we get àkpàá ji : we should have expected :- (Section B.5f.v) àkpà ìjí > àkpá iji > àkpá ji , but this is not the case owing to a rising tone being regarded as a sine quâ non when we have 1st noun ending L .

(iv) Examples of this system :-

ótùú ji 'one yam'. ḿmà 'knife' ḿmàá diṃ 'the knife of my husband'. See Addenda 20.

3. As in Section B.5b.i, such of these consonant-nouns as are HM become HH as 1st element of a genitive.

Examples

míri 'water' : mírí Énúgwu 'Enugu water'. pị́fụtá miri ôrômá 'squeeze out the juice from the orange!'.

4. The principle of 2 above is not observed when the 2nd noun of a genitive (i.e. a consonant-noun, whether m-, n-, d-, j- etc.) is also the 1st noun of a further genitive :-

Examples

jí ákpụ 'cassava' : àkpà jí ákpụ 'a bag of cassava' (NOT :- àkpàá jí ákpụ). ḿmà dí ṃ̀kpà áh-ụ̀ 'the knife belonging to that intrepid man'. ùdù mírí òròmá 'a pot of orange-juice' (NOT ùdù ḿmiri ôrômá). ìtè mányá ọ́kụ 'a pot of liquor'.

5 (a) The intrusive ṃ , ṇ referred to in 1(e) above is used as follows :- just as when standing after a L tone (this case having been explained in 2(a) above), whenever the consonant-noun is the 2nd element of a genitive, the lost L initial vowel is compensated for by inserting an intrusive syllabic ṃ or ṇ , this being ṃ when the noun

begins in consonantal m-, and ɲ when the noun begins in con-sonantal n- .

Examples

íshí ɲnwa (as in le above). ʊ́gbó ɱmiri 'canoe, boat'. ákà ɲnwa 'the child's hand'.

(b) The same occurs after a tense of a verb which changes the tone of its object (this procedure being dealt wi-th in Section H) :- mányá ' liquor' : ó nààsó ɱmanya 'he eschews liquor'. wʊóó ɱmiri 'pour out the water!' (miri).

(c) The same occurs after a tense of a verb which does NOT change the tone of its ob-ject (such as past tense,and Verbal Noun 1 like ínye 'giving).

Here, the procedure is very different from that of (b) ab-ove, for as we are dealing with the case where the tone of the verb's object is NOT affected, then these consonant-nouns, like all other nouns are NOT affected except that we continue to insert intrusive ɱ or ɲ as the case may be. Hence, we prefix the intrusive sound to the un-changed form e.g. míri, not to the form miri, as is the case in (b) above. In the case we are dealing with, the intrusive sound has the same tone as the syllable preceding it :-

i. examples of past tense

ɱ hʊ̀·rʊ̀· ɲnwá 'I saw the chi-ld'. ó hʊ̀·rʊ̀· ɲnwáɱ 'he saw my child'. ó wʊkwásárá ɱmíri 'he poured water over me'. ḿ hʊ̀·rʊ̀· díɱ 'I saw my husband'

· ó ràrà ɱmányá 'he is drunk'

ii. Examples of Verbal Noun 1.

ínye ɱmirì 'the giving person some water' (NOT ɱmìrì). ínye ɲnwa i·hye· 'giving something to a child'. ínye diya i·hye· 'giving her husband something'. ínye ɱmanʊ̀· 'giving some palmoil' (NOT ɱmànʊ̀·).

ífè ɱmíri 'crossing a water-course'. mʊ́ǫ 'fetish' : ífè ɱmʊ́ǫ =ígǫ ɱmʊ́ǫ 'worshipping a fetish' (see mʊ́ǫ which exhibits certain irregularities and which has an alternative form ɱmʊ́ǫ used even when this word stands alone, in the Dictionary). ímʊ̀ ɱmánʊ̀. 'li-ghting paraffin'.

(e) But once such consonant -nouns used in the way exemplifi-ed in 5a-5c above are in addi-tion, the 1st element of a further genitive, no intrusive syl-labic ɱ, ɲ is inserted :-

i. Examples of noun preceding the consonant noun

ánʊ́· nwá ɓ·hi· 'meat of the child of a cow' i.e. 'veal'.(ii) adjective as 3rd word :-ʊ́kwʊ́ nwá ɓtà 'the leg of the child'.

iii. Examples of past tense preceding the consonant noun

ḿ hʊ̀·rʊ̀· nwá ɓtà 'I saw the ch-ild'. ó wʊkwásárá ɱ míri á·ra· 'he poured milk over me' (3 above). ó kòòrò ɱ nwá ákʊ́kó ʊtǫ 'he recounted an anecdote to me'(li-terally:- 'a little, sweet (ʊ̀tǫ́) story').

iv. Exceptions to 5e.i above:- Certain compounds like ʊ́gbǫ̀^ɱmi-ri 'boat, ship' retain the intru-sive ɱ even after a further no-un in genitive is added :- ʊ́gbǫ́ ^ɱmiri aghà 'warship'.

20 v. Failure to insert intrusive ɱ

This occurs in a few fixed compounds :- èbìlìí^miri 'a wa-ve of the sea' (NOT as we should have expected :- èbìlì ḿmiri). ṵ́zògídé^miri 'continu-ous rain'.

(vi) See ájǫ́ in Dictionary for tone of consonant noun after ájǫ́ .

6. consonant noun after verb denoting state

See STATE in the VERB SECTION. No intrusive m, ṇ appears after a verb of state :-

Examples

è jì mánụ· ẻ mé gị́nị 'one us-es oil while doing what?' i. e. 'what is oil used for?' = gị́nị kèé jì mánụ· ẻ mé ('what is it that one uses oil while doing?').

7. HM VERB SUBJECT

As stated in Section B.5c.v(Page 14, (b) at top of Column 2), the rule in B.5c.iv (Page 14) does not apply to HM nouns beginning in a consonant , for we saw in Section C.1b (Page 17) that a word like míri is derived from a prototype ì-míri .

Examples

míri żorò 'rain fell'. mṵ́ǫ fụ̀tá.... = ḿmṵ́ǫ fụ̀tá.... 'if a fetish issues in a masquerade. ..... (see mṵ́ǫ in Dictionary).

8. SYLLABIC UNION

(a)We saw in Section B.3 that when we have two vowels inside a word at different tone-levels, or two vowels at different levels between two words syntactically connected, th-en a gliding tone up or down arises :-

Examples

ṵ́làákwṵ́kwǫ́ (Section C.1d) 'sch-ool'. ǫ́sǫ́ǫsǫ 'quickly' (< ǫ́sǫ́ + ǫsǫ). áhà· áhya 'the name of the market'.kóòtù 'coat'.

N.B. The two vowels must be id-entical by nature (ǫ́sǫ́ǫsǫ) or have become so by elision (ṵ́làá-kwṵ́kwǫ́ < ṵ́lǫ̀ ákwṵ́kwǫ́).

(c) In Section C.2c, we have examples of gliding tones arising from vowel + syllabic sound . Thus :- (C.1d above) ǫ́ nàánǫ ṇ̀gà-ä 'he is often here', where we have down-gliding tone from M to VL .

(d) Where we have these gliding tones, the words in which they occur form an unbroken flow of speech without hiatus and we might well write :- ǫ́ nàánǫ-ṇ̀gàä 'he is often here'. dí-ṃ̀kpà 'bra-ve man'.

(e) We similarly have an uninterrupted entity where there is vowel + identical vowel or vowel + syllabic all on the same pitch though of course, there is no gl-iding tone.

Examples

ṃ̀gbwà ṃ̀kpú (which we might wr-ite ṃ̀gbwà-ṃ̀kpú OR ṃ̀gbwàṃ̀kpú) 'funeral-ceremony'. ètíḿ ḿkpú (which we might write ètíḿ-ḿkpú) 'shouting'. These two ṂKPU are the same word, but the L to-ne of ṃ̀gbwà has lowered the syllabic ḿ to ṃ̀ in the case of ṃ̀gbwà ṃ̀kpú .

wụǫǫ́ ḿmanụ· (Section C.1e) mi-ght well be written :- wụǫǫ́-ḿmanụ· , ṵ́kwṵ́-ṇ́nwaṃ 'the foot of my child'. N.B. ṇ́nwaṃ is of course pronounced ńg-ngwaṃ , -by Section A.4n.iii, the ng ha-ving the sound heard in English 'sing', not that heard in English 'sin '.

(f) For syllabic + vowel, see

Section A.3b in ADDENDA.

9. PLURAL

nwá has plural ụmụ̀ 'children' (also used in compounds :- nwá agbọghọ̀ = nwá ọtà nwáànyị 'girl' : ụmụ̀ àgbọ́ghọ̀ 'girls').

The rest of the consonant nou-ns shown in this Section are mostly collectives (míri : mány-á : mányụ·) and where the sense allows of it, use the above forms in both singular and plur-al sense (e.g. jí 'yam' : 'yams').

mụ́ọ has plural ọ́dí ụmụọ 'spi-rits' : 'fetishes'.

10. The word mụ́ọ

(a) This has three forms, but most compounds are formed from the first form :- mụ́ọ = ụ́mụ́ọ = ụ́máú· . (b) mụ́ọm = ụ́mụ́ọm 'my innate feelings' (see 11 below) . (c) The following obey the rules given above :- nwá ụ́mụọ 'fairy'. nńímé ụ́mụọya 'in his mind' (11 below).

The following is derived from ụ́mụ́ọ (an ordinary noun beginning in a syllabic ụ just as ọ́gwá 'goods' is ordinary with initial syllabic ọ : none of such words are consonant-nouns,as th-ey have initial syllabic sound , NOT consonantal m- , n- which prefix syllabic m-, n- as explained above) :- ọ̀gọ́ọ ụmụọ̀ 'a pagan, heathen'. see mụ́ọ in dictio-nary.

In some compounds, we find an unusual form ụmụọ :- ọ́kú ụmụọ 'hell'. àkịdị ọ́dí ụmụọ 'the plant Vigna Multiflora'

11. POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS

(a) The consonant-nouns whose tones are HM do not follow the rule given in the Section POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS that HM nouns become HH when + possessive :- míriụ 'my water'. mụ́ọm = ụ́mụọm 'my feelings'. mụ́ọya = ụ́mụọya 'his feelings'.

(b) Monosyllables .

(i) Noun inserting intrusive sound after H

ụ́kwụ́ ọ́nwaụ (1e above) 'the leg of my child'. ụ́kwụ́ ọ́nwaya (1e) 'his child's foot'.

(ii) Noun inserting intrusi-ve sound after L noun

ọ́tù ọ́nwaụ (2a.ii) 'my only ch-ild'.

(iii) Noun inserting intrusive sound after past tense

ọ́ hụ·rụ· ọ́nwaụ 'he saw my child' (5c.i).

(iv) Noun beginning in D, J. After H :-

ọ́ nàjá diya 'she's praising her husband'. ọ́ nèrí jiụ 'he is eating my yams' (1e).

(v) Noun not beginning in D, J. After L noun

(2c.iv) ọ́máá diụ 'the knife of my husband'. OR using the construction of Section B.5f. vii :- nwúnye diụ̀ ('the wife of my husband') 'my co-wife'(< nwúnyè ìdí).

(vi) Noun not D-, J- after L verb

(5c.i) ḿ hụ·rụ· díụ 'I saw my husband'.

12. DERIVATIVES OF NWA

The following words are derived from nwá, but this has been forgotten in the case of nwáànyị 'woman', nwúnyè 'wife': they are therefore treated as ordinary nouns, not as con-sonant nouns. So too is nwó ke 'man', but see A.5b.iii in Addenda.

13. NOUNS M + VL

(a) The word madụ̀ 'person' (plural ńdí madụ̀ = madụ̀ gá) as well as the word Kraáyst 'Christ' are peculiar in being apparently the only Ibo nouns to have their tones M + VL, instead of the normal HL. This fact including the fact that Kraáyst is a foreign word give the impression, peculiar though this may be for a word with so ordinary a meaning, that madụ̀ is also a foreign word and is derived from Hausa mùtúm̀ 'person'.

(b) madụ̀ Énúgwu 'an Enugu person'. ǫ́tụ́tụ́ madụ̀ 'many people'

(c) We see that this word was originally ìmadụ̀ like the words in C.1(d) above, for after certain words syllabic m̀ is prefixed (as it also is in (e) below :-

Examples after H tone

ézígbó m̀màdü 'a good man'(there being gliding tone in the centre, so that we might write : - ézígbó-m̀màdü̧).

ájǫ́ 'bad' : ájǫ́-m̀màdụ̀ 'a good person'. ńnúkwú m̀màdü̧ gä'important persons' (ńnúkwú-m̀màdü̧ gä).

(d) after M tone

ǫ́nụ́· ǫgụgụ 'total' : ǫ́nụ́·ǫgụgụ màdü̧ ébáà 'the population of this place'. See 11b.ii, Page 105.

(e) after L noun

We insert syllabic m̀ after final L syllable of noun (as in C.2a, C.8c above) :-

Examples (i)

ụ́lǫ̀ m̀madụ̀ 'a person's house'. ìgbùrù m̀madụ̀ 'a crowd of people' (respectively ǫ̀-m̀ : ù-m̀).

(ii) We have an alternative construction where the tones of MADỤ are two pitches lower than the examples just above . Thus :- ụ́lǫ-m̀màdū 'a person's house

(iii) Further examples of such alternative forms are :-

óchíè 'old' : óchíè-m̀madụ̀ (13e.i)= óchíe-m̀màdū (13e.ii) 'an old person'.

(iv) Example of Kraáyst :- ụ́zǫ' Kràäyst 'the way of Christ' i.e. 'Christianity'.

As the assumed form ìKraáyst is parallel with ǫ̀kụ́kụ̀ except that its last two syllables (Kraáyst) are one pitch lower than those of the other word (kụ́kụ̀), its behaviour is the same, allowing for the difference in pitch.

Hence, ụ́zǫ̀ ìKraáyst > ụ́zǫ ìKràäyst> (with ejection of ì) :- ụ́zǫ Kràäyst, corresponding with B.5g on Page 16 ụ́lǫ ǫ̀kụ̀kü̧ shorn of ǫ̀ .

The case is the same in e.ii opposite except that there is a fall of 1 tone: ụ́lǫ̀ ìmadụ̀ > ụ́lǫ màdü̧ >(lowered 1 tone) ụ́lǫ-m̀màdū .

(f) madụ̀ as object of a verb

Unlike Section C.5b, 5c, no m is prefixed after verbs. Examples

(i) after present of H monosyllable :- ǫ́ nènyé madụ̀ égo ' he is giving a man money'.

(ii) íghǫ̀ 'becoming' : ǫ́ naghǫ̀ màdü̧ 'he's becoming adult' (for ii and iii below, see Pronoun Suffixes L Verbs).

(iii) after Verbal Noun LHL used to form present of HM + VL

íghwabá náányá 'impertinence' : ǫ́ nààgbwába màdü̧ náányá 'he's cheeky to people'.

(iv) After Verbal Noun HM

ínye madụ̀ í·hyé· 'giving something to a person' See 22L,Page 86.

(v) after past tense of verb.

ḿ hụ̀·rụ̀· madụ̀ 'I saw somebody'.

(g) madụ̀ used after ńdí : nwá

(i) ńdí 'persons' (plural of ónyé 'person') has two distinct

meanings : in both these meanings, ŋ́dį́ is a noun affecting the next word if the tone-rules already given, require this.

(ii) In the first sense, ŋ́dį́ st-ands before a noun to form the plural of a human being e.g. ŋ́dį́ madụ̀ 'persons' : ŋ́dį́ Igbò 'Ibos'.

(iii) use of ŋ́dį́ before madụ̀

madụ̀ ọ̀zọ́ by Section B.5f.x be-comes madụ̀ ọ̀zọ̀ . ŋ́dį́ madụ̀ ọ̀zọ̀ 'other people'. To make my meaning clear, I shall use + to show the relationship of ŋ́dį́ to the words following it : thus ŋ́dį́ + madụ̀ ọ̀zọ̀ shows that ŋ́dį́ is bound to madụ̀ and that ọ̀zọ́ governs the two words bound to each other : the literal meaning is 'other (ọ̀zọ́) individuals consisting of persons'.

(iv) Similarly sometimes for nwá . Thus :- nwá + madụ̀ Énúgwu 'a person of high degree from En-ugu'. Here, nwá+madụ̀ seems to mean 'a freeborn person' (used in the same way as Hausa ḍá 'son' and also 'freeborn' i.e. not a slave).

(v) Using ŋ́dį́ in the same mean-ing, we have :- ŋ́dį́ ọzọ 'other people' where ŋ́dį́ forms the plural of ọ̀zọ́ . ókwú ŋdị+ọ̀zọ̀ 'the speech of other people' i.e. 'wh-at others say'. madụ̀,ŋ́dį́+ọzọ 'other people' (where ŋ́dį́ + ọzọ stands in apposition to madụ̀, th-at is to say 'people i.e. others').

(vi) ŋ́dį́ in its second meaning

This meaning is 'people of'(in the genitive before madụ̀). Here, as in relative sentences, madụ̀ becomes mádụ, so the following , in all probability, are abbrevia-ted relative sentences :-

Examples

ŋ́dį́ mádụ+ọ̀zọ̀ 'the kinsfolk of other people' (lit. 'the folk of people who are different from on-eself'): this can also be expressed :- ŋ́dį́ + madụ̀ ńdį́ ọzọ 'the people (pluralising ŋ́dį́) or other people' (pluralising ŋ́dį́).

Other example of meaning 2

nwá mádụ + ọ̀zọ̀ 'a child belong-ing to other people' ('a child of people who are different') . nwá mádụ̀ Énúgwu 'the child of an Enugu person'. nwá mádụ Ọnụ̀cá 'the child of an Onitsha person'

SECTION D. THE PLURAL.

1. Usually, the plural uses the same form as the singular un-less there is any ambiguity : - ṅ̀ku ọ̀vụ̀ 'the wings of the coucal' : 'the wing of the coucal'.

2. ga is a blank-cheque word which can be applied to any plural : like the word na 'on', it is an enclitic i.e. it has no to-ne of its own, but takes the to-ne of the preceding syllable :-

Examples

(human beings) ŋ́núkwú-m̥màdụ̀ gä 'important people'. madụ̀ gá 'peo-ple'.

(animals) ényí gá 'elephants'. ŋ́kį́ta ga 'dogs'. áwọ̀ gà 'frogs'.

(inanimates) í·hyé· gá 'things

3. ụ́mụ̀ (the plural of nwá) fo-rms the plural of any living cr-eature, human or animal :-

Examples

nwáànyị̀ = nwá nwáànyị̀ 'woman': ụ́mụ̀ nwáànyị̀ 'women' = (special plural form) ŋ́díìnyòm̥̀ . òkpòró woman' : ìkpòró (special plural form) 'women'. nwá-ŋ́tà nwáànyị̀ 'girl' = àgbọ́ghọ : ụ́mụ̀ àgbọ́ghọ̀ 'girls'. nwá é·hi· 'calf' (é·hí· 'cow').

N.B. nwóke 'man' : ụ́mụ̀ nwóke= ŋ́díìkòm̥̀ (special plural form) 'men'. As nwóke is derived from nwá (A.5b.iii in Addenda), ụ́mụ̀ nwóke has ụ́mụ̀ (plural of nwá) + singular nwá . So also, for ụ́mụ̀ nwáànyị̀ 'women'.

4. ǫ́dị́ is limited to human beings :- ǫ́dị́ madụ̀ 'people'. ǫ́dị́ Ìgbò 'Ibos'. ǫ́dị́ ágha = ǫ́dáágha 'soldiers'(fromsingular ónyé ágha) : ághá 'war'.

5. hà· (derived from há· 'they') is limited to animals :- ényí hà· 'elephants'. ǫ́kị́ta há· 'dogs'. áwọ̀ hà· 'frogs'.

SECTION E. NOUN WITH POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS.

1 (a) Noun ending in H tone

ówú 'goat' ówúm 'my goat'
ówúgị 'your goat'.
ówúya 'his goat' : 'her goat'.
ówú anyị 'our goat' (< noun ànyị́ : B.5f.iii).
ówú úmù 'your (plural) goat' (úmù is a noun).
ówú ha· 'their goat' (há· is noun
íbú 'load' : íbúm dị́ árọ́ 'my load is heavy'.

(b) MM which by tone-rules of B.5f has arisen from LH

ùwé 'clothing' : ọ́ dụgharịala ùwèm 'he has altered suit' (i.e. to fit me better). ọ̀dú 'leadership' : ónyé ọduhá· kọ́ọ́ bụ 'he is their leader'

(c) Noun ending in M. HHM

ǫ́kị́ta 'dog'. ǫ́kị́tam 'my dog
ǫ́kị́tagị 'your dog'.
ǫ́kị́taya 'his (her) dog'.
ǫ́kị́ta ànyị (B.5f.xi) 'our dog'.
ǫ́kị́ta umù 'your (plural) dog'.
ǫ́kị́ta ha· 'their dog'.
ímeya (Verbal Noun 1) 'the doing it'. N.B. From now on, I shall use the abbreviation VN for Verbal Noun.

(d) (i) Noun ending in L

ụ́lọ̀ 'house'.ụ́lọ̀m 'my house'.
ụ́lọgị 'your house'.
ụ́lọyá 'his (her, its) house'.
ụ́lọ ànyị (B.5f.vii) 'our house'
ụ́lọ úmù 'your (plural) house'.
ụ́lọ̀ há· 'their house'.

(ii) noun + noun in genitive

+ POSSESSIVE PRONOUN

The possessive is usually suffixed to the 2nd noun whatever its final tone : sometimes, the possessive follows the 1st noun however :-

Examples

íjèm mbụ 'my first (ụ̀bụ́) journey' (See 5e.iii below). From now on, I shall use the abbreviation v for 'See', this standing as shortening of the Latin 'vide'.

íkwú 'relative, relation': ócíè 'old' : íkwú ócíègị 'your ancestors'. òkè 'share' : àlà 'land' : òke àlàm 'my plot of ground'.

(e) Noun ending in M tone. 2-syllable HM

(i) This becomes HH when + suffixed pronoun. ágo 'money'.

ágóm 'my money'. ágógị 'your money'. ágóya 'his (her) money'. ágó anyị 'our money'. ágó úmù 'your (plural) money'.ágó ha· 'their money'. N.B. These tones show that the suffixed pronouns are nouns, for this agrees with Section B.5b : - ágó ụ́lọ̀ .

(ii) but when HM noun stands under conditions where HH noun (not followed by another noun) would change from HH to HM (B.5a) , then HM noun remains HM : similarly,whenever such a form as ágom is the object of any tense of a verb.

Examples on model of HH

ónyé 'person' : ọ̀cé 'guarding' : ónyé ọce egò ànyị ('the person who has the guarding of our money') 'our treasurer'.
ụ̀bá ágoya 'the abundance of his money'.

Examples as object of verb

ḿ nàtàrà ágom 'I received my money'. ḿ tìnyèrè ágom mụrụ áhya 'I invested my money in

stocks' (úrù 'profit' : áhyá 'ma-rket').

Examples where high-mid noun is simultaneously modelled on high-high and is also object of verb

ụ́gwọ 'debt' : kwụ́ghachí ụ́gwọm 'repay the debt owing to me !' (imperative is one of the tenses affecting the tones of a high-high noun). jikwáá égogị 'take care of your money !'.

(iii) but, if pronoun- object stands between verb and its noun-object, we do not follow le.ii (égom, foot page 25) : we follow le.i (égóm) : v (k), page 56.

kwụ́ghachí-mụụgwọm̀ 'repay me my debt which is due to me !': kwụ́ghachím ụgwọm̀ > kwụ́ghachí-mụụgwọ-m̀ by (t) on page 58.

2. NOUN HH.

when a high-high noun such as íshí (la, page 25) is subject to a tone-rule which changes it to high-mid, then this high-mid is retained for noun + possessive pronoun :-

examples

welíté íshigị 'raise your head !' . welíté íshim 'raise my head !'. welíté íshiya 'raise his head !' : 'raise her head !'. ógè ọ́sọya 'at the time of his running (ọ́sọ́)'.

3. The result of the various rules for noun + possessive is that in most cases, the forms arising from ụ́gwọ 'debt' and ụ́gwọ́ 'salary' are identical : the same occurs in the case of ọ́mụ́· 'mouth' and ọ́mụ· 'hole' : to avoid ambiguity, it is better to use ụ́gwọ́ ọ́nwa for 'salary' : the above words appear also in 5b.i (page 14), 5h.ii (page 17), Adde-nda 6 (page 122), F.2 (page 28) :-

examples

(a) kwụọọ́ ụ́gwọm 'pay the debt owing me!'. kwụọọ́ ụ́gwọ́ ọ́nwam 'pay my salary!'.

(b) (after verb not affecting tone of next noun) m̀ kwụ̀rụ̀ ụ́gwọya 'I paid the debt owing on it' (foot of page 25). m̀ kwụ̀rụ̀ ụ́gwọ́ ọ́nwaya 'I paid his salary' =(less clear in meaning) m̀ kwụ̀rụ̀ ụ́gwọ́ya (la, page 25).

(c) (as subject)

ụ́gwọ́ya 'the debt owing on it' : see further examples in 19 on page 124.

4. OWN CONTRASTED WITH ANOTHER

(a) When the subject of a tense which changes the tone of the next noun is in 3rd person as we-ll as the pronoun suffixed to a noun-object HH by nature (íshí) being in the 3rd person, then we follow E.2 in Column 1 if the -ya ('his, her, its') suffixed to the noun-object refers to the subject of the verb. But, if -ya refers to a different person, then we follow E.1a on Page 25, Column 1 and have HH :-

Examples

ọ́ newèlíté íshiya 'he's raising his (own) head'. BUT ọ́ newèlíté íshíya 'he's raising his (another's) head'.

(b) Where the tense does NOT change the tone of the next noun (e.g. past tense), no distinction can be made. Thus :- ó wèlìtè-rè íshíya 'he raised his own (OR another's) head'.

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(d) A further case of differentiation between 'own' and 'another's' is made where LH noun has become MM (by B.5f, Page 14) : - ányá ụ̀fụ́ > ányá ụ́fụ which by elision can > ányụ́ụfụ 'jealousy' .

Thus :- ányụ́ụfụya 'the jealousy which he feels against somebody'. ányụ́ụfụyà 'the jealousy which another feels against him'.

5. POSSESSIVE PRONOUN AFFECTING TONE WHEN SUBJECT OF GENITIVE

(a)The suffixed possessive pronouns were originally nouns (see N. B. to E.1e(i) on Page25) :most of them begin in a consonant : -mụ́ : -gị́ : -yá : -há· : but ànyị́ : únù 'begin in a vowel.

(b) As no true Ibo nouns begin in a consonant (Section C.1a, Page 17), we saw in C.1b (Page 17) that the assumption that nouns now beginning in a consonant like míri , jí originally began in a vowel (ìmírí : ìjí) is proved by their behaviour , as they restore the lost initial vowel by prefixing a syllabic sound (ḿmiri) or by up-gliding tone of previous L vowel (àkpàá ji).

(c) So the pronouns originated, we must assume, in some such forms as :- ị́mụ́ : ị́gị́ : ị́yá: :ị́há·: the other forms ànyị́ : únù are already disyllabic. See Addenda 16.

(d) We also see that all these words are nouns from such expressions as :- ọ́ bụ̀ mụ́ shìrìyá = ọ́ bụ̀ḿ shìrìyá 'it is I who cooked it'. Similarly, as emphasised - subject, we have the nouns :- yá mèrèyá 'it is he who did it',whereas in the case of ọ́ mèrèyá it is merely the verbal action which is stated without emphasis on who was the doer i.e. 'he did it'.

(e) When we suffix pronoun-objects to verbs , the procedure , taking the past tense as example is as follows (i)

ọ́ kụ̀rụ̀ + hypothetical ị́mụ́ > ọ́ kụ̀rụ̀ ị́mụ́ > ọ́ kụ̀rụ̀ mụ́ > ọ́ kụ̀rụ̀ḿ (with gliding tone) 'he hit me' . ọ́ kụ̀rụ̀ ị́gị́ > ọ́ kụ̀rụ̀gị́ 'he hit you'.

(ii) verb + pronoun-suffix + noun-object :- ọ́ kụ̀rụ̀ ị́mụ́ áká > ọ́ kụ̀rụ̀ mụ́ áká > ọ́ kụ̀rụ̀-mááká (A. 2b, Page 1) 'he hit me with his hand': this is literally 'he hit me as to the hand', hence the words ị́mụ́ and áká are not in genitive relationship and no tone-change is motivated by B.5a on Page 13. N.B. The ị́mụ́, mụ́ forms are not in use.

(iii) On the other hand, when we have noun + possessive-suffix (which as shown above, is a noun) + another noun, then if these groups stand in genitive relanship, the tone-change required by B.5a on Page 13 occurs :-

Examples

íjè 'journey' : ḿbụ́ 'beginning' : íjèḿ ḿbụ 'my first journey' (literally :- 'the journey of me of the beginning').

ọ́kpárá 'eldest son' : ọ́kpáráya ḿbụ̀ 'his eldest son' (literally :- 'the eldest son of him of the beginning').

ọ̀zọ́ 'other' : áhà. 'name':ḿ dèrè áhà.-mọ́ọzọ 'I wrote down my other name' (lit. 'the name of me of otherness'.

N.B. This arises from the hypothetical ị́mụ́ (5 opposite) + ọ̀zọ́ and by 5f.iii on Page 15 becomes ị́mụ́ ọzọ : this becomes mụ́ ọzọ which elides into mọ́ọzọ, just as in 5b.i, 5b.iii (page 5), 3 (page 9) ìkpé azụ. becomes ìkpáazụ. : so, áhà·ḿ ọzọ becomes áhà·mọ́ọzọ : as adverb, we have :- ḿ dèrè áhà·ḿ ọ̀zọ́ 'I wrote my name again'.

SECTION F. 'AS TO' : 'AS REGARDS'

1. Where instead of two nouns standing in a genitival relation-ship to each other, the 2nd noun means 'as to', Section B.5 does not apply, as the nouns are independent of each other. Thus:

maá ụdọ ọgbụ́ 'tie a loop in the rope!' (literally 'tie (ima) the rope as to a loop!') : whereas (by B.5a.i) maá ụdọ ọgbụ 'tie the rope of the loop!'.

2. ọmụ́ after a verb, in the sense of 'as to the mouth' becomes ọmụ· : NA 'in, on' + ọmụ́· becomes as adverb nọ́ọ́mụ, but as preposition + noun, it is nọ́ọ́mụ́·

ọ mịrị-mọ́ọ́mụ· 'she kissed me'('she sucked (imị) me as to the mouth'). íkwe ọmụ· ' agreeing on a price'. ọ pịrị ọ́mụ· 'it is pointed (ípụ)'.

ákwa á kèrè úhyé nọ́ọ́mụ· 'this has a red border' (íke 'tying'). ọ dị nọ́ọ́mụ́· ọ́nwụ. 'he's on the point of death (ọ́mwụ́·).

3. ọ́ma, ọ́jọ suffer change of tone according to the previous tone. For this procedure, see in Dictionary :- ọ́ma : ọ́jọ : compare also ọ́ma with ọ́má, ọ́jọ with ọ́jọ́ .

4. two noun-objects : 1st being direct object, 2nd being 'as to' : see addenda 30.

SECTION G. THE NUMERALS.

1. CARDINAL NUMERALS

(a) ọ́tù 'one' precedes its noun :- ọ́tù ézị· 'one pig'. ọ́tu ọ̀bọ̀dọ̀ 'one town (ọ̀bọ̀dọ̀ :B.15) . ọ̀ké 'rat' : ọ́tu ọ̀kè 'one mouse' (B.5f.vii).

(b) àbụ́ọ 'two' retains its form instead of obeying B.5h :- ẹ́nyí àbụ́ọ '2 elephants'. ọ́nyé í·hú· àbụ́ọ 'a two-faced person'. íyí àb-ụ́ọ '2 rivers (íyi : B.5b.i). ụ́lọ̀ àbụ́ọ '2 houses'. ụdọ̀ àbụ́ọ = ụdàà-bụ́ọ '2 ropes'. biaá néélékéré àb-ụ́ọ 'come at 2 o'clock!'.See náà-bọ̀ in Dictionary.

(c) àtọ́ 'three'. (i) After H , we follow 5f.iii :- ẹ́nyí atọ '3 elephants'. (ii) After M, we first raise this M to H (by B.5b.i) and then proceed as in B.5f.iii:-

íyi 'river' : íyí atọ '3 rivers'..

(iii) ọ́ ruwele elekere anyà àtọ́ 'it is nearly 3 o'clock'.

àgàdá à dị ụ́mà áka àtọ̀ 'this chair measures 3 spans across'.

(iv) after low tone, we retain àtọ́ instead of obeying 5f.vii on page 15 :- ụ́lọ̀ àtọ́ '3 houses'.

(d) ànọ́· 'four', ìsé = ìsó 'five ' follow (c) just above :-

examples

ẹ́nyí anọ· 'four elephants'.

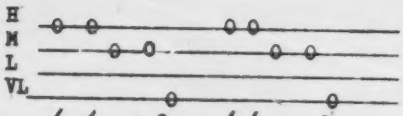
ọ́ghọ́ ụ́kpá anọ 'four kinds (ụ́kpa) of cotton (ọ́gho).

ụ́lọ̀ ìsé = ụ́lọ̀ ìsó 'five houses '.

(e) ìshíì· 'six' :-

(i) after high or mid tone, we follow 5g on page 16 :-

ẹ́nyí ishiị́· 'six elephants'.



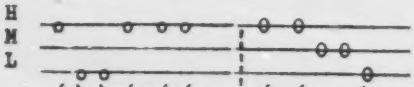
ényí ishiî. íyí ishiî.
'6 elephants'. '6 rivers'.

(ii) After L, we retain ìshíì· :- ụ́lọ̀ ìshíì· '6 houses'.

(f) àsáà 'seven' follows the model of (e) just above. (i) ényí asaá '7 elephants'. (ii) ụ́lọ̀ àsáà '7 houses'. ṇ̀kè àsáà '7 things'.

(g) àsátọ 'eight'. (i) After H or M, we follow Section B.5h :- ényí asatọ̀ '8 elephants'. íyí asatọ̀ '8 elephants'. (ii) After L, we retain àsátọ :- ụ́lọ̀ àsátọ '8 houses'.

(h) tóólu = ìtóólu = ìtéghété 'nine'. (i) tóólu = ìtóólu remains as it is :- ényí tóólu '9 elephants'. ụ́lọ̀ tóólu '9 houses'. (ii) ìtéghété follows (c) above :- ényí iteghete 'nine elephants'. ụ́lọ̀ ìtéghété 'nine houses'.



ụ́lọ̀ ìtéghété ényí asatọ̀
((g) above)

(j) ìrí 'ten' follows (c) above:- (i) ényí iri '10 elephants'. (ii) ụ́lọ̀ ìrí '10 houses'.

(k) <u>Numerals 14-19</u> :- ìrí nòótù 'eleven' (i.e. '10 and 1'). nòótù < nà('and') + ótù . ényí iri nòótù '11 elephants' (Section B.5f).

ényí iri nààbụ́ọ '12 elephants'. ụ́lọ̀ ìrí nààbụ́ọ '12 houses'. ényí iri nààtọ́ '13 elephants'. ụ́lọ̀ ìrí nààṇọ́· '14 houses'.

(L) óhú = ọ́gụ́ '20'. óhú ényi = ọ́gụ́ ényi '20 elephants'. óhú ényi nììsé '25 elephants'.

(m) óhú nà ìrí 'thirty'. óhú ényi nả irí '30 elephants'. óhú ényi nả irí nààtọ́ '33 elephants'.

(n) óhú àbụ́ọ = í·hú· àbụ́ọ '40'. óhú ényi ảbụ́ọ '40 elephants'. óhú ényi ảbụ́ọ nả ảbụ́ọ '42 elephants'.

(o) óhú àbụ́ọ nả irí = í·hú· àbụ́ọ niirí '50'. óhú ényi ảbụ́ọ niirí nààṇọ́· '54 elephants'.

(p) óhú atọ = í.hú· atọ '60'. (q) óhú atọ nả ìrí = í·hú· atọ nả ìrí '70'. (r) óhú anọ. =í·hú· anọ. '80'.

(s) óhú anọ. niirí= í·hú·anọ. nả irí '90'. (t) óhú ise = ọ́gụ́ ise '100'. óhú ényi isé '100 elephants'. óhú ise niirí '110'.

(u) óhú iri = í·hú· iri '200'. óhú ényi irí '200 elephants'. (v) óhú iri nả irí nììsé '215'. óhú ényi irí nà ìrí nììsé '215 elephants'.

(w) óhú iri nòóhú '220'. óhú ényi ìrí nòóhú '220 elephants'. (x) óhú iri nòóhú ise '300'. (y) óhú iri nòóhú ise nả irí nà ìsé '315'.

(y) ṇ́nụ̀· '400'. ṇ́nụ̀. ényi '400 elephants'. (z) ṇ́nụ̀·nà ìrí nììsé '415'. (z.i) ṇ́nụ̀· àbụ́ọ '800'. (z.ii) ṇ́nụ̀· àbụ́ọ nả óhú iri '1,000'. madụ̀ ṇ́nụ̀. àbụ́ọ nòóhú iri '1,000 persons'. ṇ́nụ̀· -m̀mảdụ̄ īsé '2,000 persons' (Section C.13e.ii). (z.iii) ṇ́nụ̀. kúrú ṇ́nụ̀· ṇ́madụ̀ 'many thousands of people' (C.13e.i).

(z.iv) We can deduct 1, 2, 3 or 4 from twenty or a multiple of twenty :-

<u>Examples</u>

ànọ́· a dịghị noohu (' when (a balance of) 4 is notincluded in 20' = 'when 4 is missing from 20' = '20 minus 4') 'sixteen'. í·hyé· anọ· à dịghị nòòhù '16 articles'.

àtọ́ a dịghị noohu nả irí '

27' (i.e. '30 minus 3). àbụ́ọ à dịghị nòòhù ábụ́ọ '38'.

ọ́lị à dịghị nòòhù isè '99'. ụ́lọ́ ọ́lị à dịghị nà ọnụ́· ụ́lọ́ '399 house -s' (ọnụ́· is the representative, when switched down, of ọ́nụ́· and as it stands for the original L tone at the end of ọ́nụ́·, we must by Sec -tion B.4d, rise to H for the next word ụ́lọ́).

2. ORDINAL NUMERALS.

(a) ọkè 'thing' is used where a confusion with G.1 is likely.

(b) ọ́bụ́ 'the beginning' : ényí ọ́bụ = ényí ọkè ọ́bụ 'the 1st elepha -nt'. ụ́lọ́ 'house' : ụ́lọ ọ́bụ́ 'the 1 st house'. íyi 'river' : íyí ọke ábụ́ọ 'the 2nd river'. N.B. This fo -llows Section B.5e, for we have L of ọkè meeting initial L of àbụ́ọ : it therefore means 'the river of the thing of two',whereas G.1(b) we have íyí àbụ́ọ where àbụ́ọ seems to stand in apposition to íyí 'rivers, namely two'.

(c) In íyí ọke ábụ́ọ 'the 2nd riv -er', we start from ọkè àbụ́ọ LL + LHM, which should by B.5h become:- ọke àbụ̀ọ́ : this form is in fact,al ternative.

(d) In G.1b above, we have íyí àbụ́ọ '2 rivers'. For'2nd', we star -t from the same base íyí àbụ́ọ but in sense of '2nd', its treatment differs from that of '2'. As íyí àbụ́ọ consists of HH + LHM, we follow the model of B.5h and get íyí abụ̀ọ́.

We have also a 4th alternative:- àbụ̀ọ́ , so the 4 alternatives are:- íyí ọ-ke ábụ́ọ ((b) above) = íyí ọke àbụ̀ọ́ ((c) above) = íyí abụ̀ọ́- ((d) above) íyí àbụ̀ọ́ 'the 2nd river'. ọkaà bụ ọ́bịbyám ọkaàbụ̀ọ́ ọ́gaà 'this is my 2nd visit here'.

(e) (i) After H or M :- àkwá ọké atọ 'the 3rd egg'. (ii) After L we have the alternatives :- ụ́lọ ọ́ké atọ = ụ́lọ àtọ́ 'the 3rd house'.

(f) 4th, 5th, 10th follow the model of (e) above :- (i) àkwá ọké anọ· 'the 4th egg'. àkwá ọké ise 'the 5th egg'. àkwá ọ́kírí 'the 10th egg'. (ii) After L : - ụ́lọ ọ́ké anọ·'the 4th house= ụ́lọ ànọ́·. ụ́lọ ọké ise = ụ́lọ ìsè ' the 5 th house'. ụ́lọ ọ́ké iri=ụ́lọ ìrì 'the 10th house'.

(g) àkwá ọke ìshìỉ· 'the 6th egg'. (ii) After L :- ụ́lọ ọke ìshìỉ·= ụ́lọ ìshìỉ· 'the 6th hou -se'.

(h) àsáà '7 ' follows model of (g) above :- (i) àkwá ọke àsà -ä 'the 7th egg'. (ii) After L:- ụ́lọ ọke àsàä = ụ́lọ ọ́kaàsàä = ụ́lọ àsàä = ụ́laàsàä 'the 7th house'.

(j) àsátọ '8 ' follows model of '2nd' in 2 above :- íyí ọke àsátọ = íyí asatọ̀ '8th river'.

(k) ìtóólu '9' follows model of '2nd' in 2 above :-íyí ìtóó- -lu = íyí itoolù 'the 9th elephant'.

(L) ényí óhu· = ényí ọkè óhu· 'the 20th elephant'. ényí óhu· nà ìrí 'the 30th elephant'. ényí óhu· ábụ́ọ 'the 40th elephant' . ényí óhu· ábụ́ọ niirí nàànọ́· 'the 54th elephant'.

(m) òlé 'how many?' is treated as a numeral i.e. like àtọ́ in G. 1C above :- ényí ole 'how many elephants?'. ùsòrò òlé 'how many times?'. táà ọ bụ ụ́bọ̀cị̀ òlé ' 'what is the date, today?'.

3. Distributive Numerals.

ótù nòótù = ótu-ótù 'one by one' : ḿ gààkpọ́ ha· otù nòótù etc. 'I shall call them one by one'.

àbụ̀ọ́-àbụ̀ọ́ 'two by two'. àtọ́ -atọ 'three by three'. ànọ́·-anọ· ' 4 by 4'. ìsé-ise '5 by 5'. ìshíì· ìshíì· '6 by 6'.

àsátọ-àsátọ 'eight by eight'.

àsáà-àsáà '7 by 7'. tóólu- tóólu' 9 by 9'.

ìrí iri '10 by 10'.

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SECTION H. THE VERB.

1. Verb Types.

(a) Some one-syllable verbs (i.e. monosyllables) are characterised by having M tone in their VN 1 (2 below). Other monosyl-labic verbs are distinguished by having L tone.

(b) The former are H roots whose H tone has been switched to M by the preceding prefix of the VN :- root mé , VN ímé 'doing' : I therefore call these H verbs .

(c) The L verbs have L root which which the addition of a prefix cannot affect in tone (Section B.4d) :- root lì , ílì 'the burying'.

(d) Verbs compounded by joining together these 1-syllable verbs have their VN 1 with the tones shown below: all such compounds (except one or two irregular cases where the origin of the compound is forgotten or unknown today) follow these patterns and knowledge of the form of the VN is the only guide to the complex system governing the conjugation of each particular verb. In the following models, the prefix is omitted, but it is shown in 2 below.

Examples

i. H verb + H verb > MM (as mentioned previously, > means 'becomes' : 'results in').

ii.	L + H > LL.
iii.	L + L > M + VL
iv.	H + L > M + VL

2. Verbal Noun 1.

(a) This VN is formed by prefixing a H vowel to the verb-root, this having the tones shown in 1d above.

(b) By vowel-harmony, if the root of a monosyllabic verb ends in one of the vowels in Group 1 of Section A.5a.ii on Page 4, then we prefix í- (itself Group 1 vowel).

(c) If the verb-root ends in a vowel of Group 2 (A.5a.ii on Page 4), we prefix ɨ- (which is the vowel of Group 2 opposed to the í- of Group 1). All verbs, unlike most nouns, begin in a consonant.

(d) In the case of compound verbs, the 'root' means the root of the 1st verb of the compound i.e. the syllable standing adjacent to the prefix.

(e) Examples of monosyllables

(i) H with Group 1 vowel.

íshi 'cooking'. ígo 'buying'. íbu 'lifting, carrying'. íde 'writing'.

(ii) H with Group 2 vowel.

ɨrɨ 'climbing'. ɨbɔ 'weeding'. ɨkpɔ 'calling'. ɨzɨ 'buying'. ɨga 'going'.

(iii) L with Group 1 vowel.

ílì 'burying'. íjò 'raining'. íbù 'being fat'. ísè 'pulling'.

(iv) L with Group 2 vowel.

ɨpɨ̀ 'squeezing'. ɨbɔ̀ carving up a carcase'. ɨzɨ̀ 'tending'. ɨzà 'sweeping'.

.....

(f) Examples of compounds.

i. H.ld.i. H + H. > HMM

ígbu 'the cutting' + íji 'snapping off' :- ígbuji oshishi ' cutting down a tree'. For 3-syllables, see 4b.vi, 6b.vi.

ii. H.ld.ii. L + H > HLL.

ɨfɨ̀ 'blowing on thing to kindle it' + ínyɨ 'the becoming extinguished' :- ɨfɨ̀nyɨ́ ɔ́kɨ́ 'extinguishing a fire'. For 3-syllable roots, see 4b.vi, 6b.vi.

iii. H.ld.iii. ANY H or L verb + the particular L verb ɨfɨ̀

íwè 'taking' + ɨfɨ̀ 'the going out' :- íwefɨ̀ 'removing'. íku + ɨfɨ̀ > íkufɨ̀ 'taking water from stream or pot for use'. For 3-syllable verb, see 4b.vi, 6b.vi.

N.B. A few verbs which should (if logically treated) be conjugated on the model of H.ld.iv are actually treated like íwefɨ̀. See f.vA, page 64

iv. H,ld.iv . ANY H or L verb + any verb except ɨ́fụ̀ .

ígbu 'the cutting' + íbì 'the cu-tting' > ígbubi ǫ́kà 'the cutting off of maize'. ɨ́tụ̀ 'pecking' + íbì 'cutting' > ɨ́tụbi 'pinching'. For 3-syllable and 4-syllable roots , see 4b.vi, 6b.vi.

v. There exist a series of verbs having tones as in 2f.iv at top of this column, but with the same syl-lable reduplicated : such verbs are usually not derived from am ex-istent monosyllabic verb :-

Examples

ízuzůghàrɨ̀ 'going about things in the wrong way'. ǫ́ dụdụ̀wàrà í.hú. 'she pouted sulkily'. íjijè 'imitating' (with centre vowel cha-nged in same way as in reduplica-ted VN).

derived from monosyllabic verb:-

jí rùrù 'the yam became develop-ed' >jí rurůrů 'the yam became over-ripe, squashy'. íbì 'cutting': íbibi 'spoiling'. ɨ́gàgìdè 'clutch-ing firmly' > ɨ́gɨgàgìdè 'clutch-ing insecurely'.

(g) VN 1 never changes the tone of the noun following it :- ǫ́kụ́ ' fire' : ɨ́fụ̀nyụ̀ ǫ́kụ́ 'extinguishing-the-fire', not 'the extinguishing-of-the-fire' : ǫ́kụ́ does not > ǫ́kụ(see VN 2).(h) See 4c.iv, Page 38.

3. PAST TENSE.

(a) We suffix to the root,-r- + the same vowel as ends the root,so -r- is preceded and followed by an identical vowel.

(b) The past tense has allsyllables L except that the verbs of 2. f.iii, 2f.iv retain the tones of their VN 1 + 3rd syllable L.

(c) The 2nd and 3rd singular subject-pronouns prefixed to the past tense depend on Section A.5a.ii on Page 4 : thus, 'you' (singular) is expressed by í before a verb ending in a vowel of Group 1 , but by ɨ́ before a verb ending in a vowel of Group 2 . 'he, she, it' us-es ǫ́ before Group 1 vowels,but ǫ́ before Group 2 vowels.

i. H verb having Group 1 -i.

íshi 'cooking' : ḿ shìrì 'I cooked'. í shìrì 'you cooked'. ǫ́ shìrì 'he (she) cooked'.nwáà-nyɨ̀ áhụ̀· shìrì 'that woman cooked'. ànyɨ́ shìrì 'we cooked ' = ányɨ̀ shìrì . únù shìrì ' you people cooked'. há· shìrì 'they cooked'. ǫ́dɨ́ madụ̀ shiri 'the people cooked'.

ii. H verb having Group 1 -u

ízu 'stealing'. ḿ zùrù 'I st-ole'. í zùrù 'you stole'. ǫ́ zùrù 'he (she) stole'. ànyɨ́ (=ányɨ̀) zùrù 'we stole'. únù 'you folk stole'. há· zùrù 'th-ey stole'. Dàgógò nà Òkóyè zù-rù 'D. and O. stole'.

íbu 'carrying'. ǫ́ bùrù 'he ca-rried'. í bùrù 'you carried'. ígbu 'killing'. í gbùrù 'you killed'. ǫ́ gbùrù 'she killed'.

iii. H verb having Group 2 -ɨ

ɨ́rɨ 'climbing'. ḿ rɨ̀rɨ̀ 'I cl-imbed'. ɨ́ rɨ̀rɨ̀ 'you climbed'. ǫ́ rɨ̀rɨ̀ 'he (she) climbed'.

iv. H verb having Group 2 -ǫ

ɨ́bǫ 'weeding'. ḿ bǫ̀rǫ̀ 'I we-eded'. ǫ́ bǫ̀rǫ̀ 'he weeded'. ɨ́ bǫ̀rǫ̀ 'you weeded'. ɨ́ryǫ 'req-uesting'. ǫ́ ryǫ̀rǫ̀ 'he reques-ted'.

v. H verb having Group 2 -ụ

ɨ́zụ 'buying'. ɨ́ zụ̀rụ̀ 'you bought'. ǫ́ zụ̀rụ̀ 'he bought'.

vi. H verb having Group 2 -a

ɨ́ga 'going'. ɨ́ gàrà 'you we-nt'. ǫ́ gàrà 'he went'.

L VERBS.

vii.L verb having Group 1 -i

ílì 'burying'. ḿ lìrì 'I bu-ried'. í lìrì 'you buried' . ǫ́ lìrì 'he buried'.

viii.L verb having Group 1 -e

ísè 'pulling'. ḿ sèrè 'I pu lled'. í sèrè 'you pulled'

ó sèrè 'he pulled'.

ix. L verb having Group 2 -ị
ị́mị̀ 'sucking'. ị́ mị̀rị̀ 'you suck-ed'. ọ́ mị̀rị̀ 'he sucked'. únù mị̀-rị̀ 'you people sucked'.

x. L verb having Group 2 -ọ
ị́bọ̀ 'cutting up a carcase'. ị́ bọ̀rọ̀ 'you cut up'. ọ́ bọ̀rọ̀ 'he dis-membered the carcase'.

xi. L verb having Group 2 -ụ
ị́zụ̀ 'tending'. ḿ zụ̀rụ̀ 'I loo-ked after person or animal'. ị́ zụ̀rụ̀ 'you tended'. ọ́ zụ̀rụ̀ 'he tended'.

N.B. The meticulous care which Ibo devotes to its tone-structure in order to avoid misunderstanding throughconfusion arising between two forms having the same phonetic structure, is not evinced in the past tense, for forms such as ḿ zụ̀rụ̀ are the past of both ị́zụ (3c.v above) 'buying' and ị́zụ̀ 'tending'. The same appplies to the imperatives of these two types of verbs, this being in both cases, zụọ́ọ́. See also :- xiii, xiv below. Homer nods!

xii. L verb having Group 2 -a
ị́zà 'sweeping' (but H verb :- ị́za 'replying') :- ị́ zàrà (a) 'you swept'. (b) 'you replied'. ọ́ zàrà (a) 'she swept'. (b)'she replied'.

COMPOUND VERBS.

xiii. H + H verb : Group 1 -u
ígbuji 'cutting down'. ḿ gbù-jìrì óshíshí 'I cut down the tr-ee'. í gbùjìrì óshíshí 'you cu-t down....'. ó gbùjìrì óshíshí 'he cut down...'. ànyị́ (=ányị̀) gbùjìrì óshíshí 'we cut.....'. únù gbùjìrì óshíshí 'you folk cut...'. há· gbùjìrì óshíshí 'they cut down the tree'. See N.B. to xiv below.

xiv. L + H verb : Group 2 -ụ
ị́fụ̀nyụ̀ 'extinguishing'. ị́ fụ̀-nyụ̀rụ̀ ọ́kụ́ 'you put out the fi-re'. ọ́ fụ̀nyụ̀rụ̀ ọ́kụ́ 'heextin-guished the fire'.

N.B. As in xi N.B. above, the past tenses of xiii, xiv are in-distinguishable, this also apply-ing to their imperatives. For example, íjide 'catching hold of' and íjìdè 'arresting' both have past tense :- ḿ jìdèrè :im-perative :- jidé. See xvi.

xv. L + L verb : Group 1 -e
íwefụ̀ 'removing' (H.1d.iii ab-ove). ó wefụ̀rụ̀ égo 'he remov-ed the money'. í wefụ̀rụ̀ égo 'he removed the money'.

xvi. H + L verb : Group 1 -u
ígbubi 'cutting off'. í gbubi-ri ọ́kà 'you cut off the mai-ze'. ó gbubiri ọ́kà 'he cut off the maize' (H. 1d.iv Page 35).

N.B. As in xiv, xi above,con-fusion is possible,for as seen in H.2e.iii,(Page 34) and H.2e.iv (Page 35), a VN which has the pattern HM+VL represents as its first element of the compound either a H verb, or a L verb. For example, we have :- ó kufụ̀rụ̀ úmé 'he exhal-ed' (< íkù úmé 'breathing') as well as :- ó kufụ̀rụ̀ ṃmíri 'he drew some water from pot or st-ream' (< íku ṃmirì ' drawing water' (as above).

(d) The past tense does not change the tone of the follow-ing noun (except as in Secti-on C.5c.i, Page 20) :- ṇ́rí ' food' : ó shìrì ṇ́rí 'she cook-ed the food'.

(e) In some compound verbs, the 1st element governs the ob-ject which immediately follo-ws, while the 2nd element of the compound governs a noun wh-ich stands later in the sen-tence :-

Example

1st element of this verb con-sisting of 3 syllables :- ído-zi 'equipping' : ífè ókè 'pas-sing across the boundary' : 'being excessive'. So :- é do-zifèrè ụ́lọ à ókè 'this house is lavishly equipped' (lit.'people ha-ve equipped this house in a way which exceeds the normal standard'

(f) Impersonal Construction

(i) Active Type

We prefix é to Verbs having Group 1 Vowels (Section 5a on Page 4), but we prefix á to Verbs having Group 2 Vowels: These two Prefixes, each mean some doer, some agent: they can be replaced by há· = they

Examples:-

é shìrì fírí, Somebody cooked food, há· shìrì fírí

á zùrù fírí = há· zùrù fírí Some person(s) bought food, food was bought.

(ii) We can have two Direct Objects (Accusatives) referring to any person:-

é nyèrè-mòòkúkù , I was given a chicken. é nyèrè gòòkúkù, You were given a chicken.

á màrà-mííkpé ó·hi· , a verdict of theft was passed on me (literally:- Some person (- somebody) beat me regarding a verdict of theft).
á màrà yííkpé ó·hi" , Someone accused him of theft.

(iii) Besides meaning some doer, some agent é and á can mean some agency, some force of nature:-

Examples:-

é jì àhú· íke gozieyà , he is blessed with good health (literally, Some agency took a body of strength and blessed him).

é kèrè ùwà sítè nà ìwú Chúkwú , The world was created by God's will (literally:- Some force of nature created the world at the order of God).

(ff) é and á + me, him causally in (f) above, we had active constructions where the Subject was some agent (i, ii above)

(ii)

We now come to a different type of construction allowed only in the case of I and They and forming an alternative to the past tense in such meanings as'I cooked food:' 'They cooked food.'

(iii)

Here, the Subject is some agency and not some agent which was the meaning é, á, in f.i, f.ii above: The Suffixed Pronouns are limited to me and them and we cannot have you, him, her, etc such as were used in (f) above.

(iv)

The Verb has causal sense and although me and and them are still as in (f) above, objects gramma -tically and literally yet the sense is I and They.

(ff) (v)

Where as in the 1st example below, there is no noun-object then me and them have low tone but where the 2nd object is a Noun beginning in a high tone then, me and them take rising tone.

Examples:-

á zụ̀rụ̀m̀ kwụ́ọ́ ụ́gwọ , I bought cash down.

é shìrìḿ ńrí , I cooked food (literally:- Some agency caused me to cook food, ḿ shìrì ńrí

é nwèrè-hàá· íké ímeya, (with elision) é nyèrè-hìíké ímeya , They are able to do it (literally:- Some driving force gave them the strength to do it) , há· nwèrè íké ímeya . (Past Tense).

á hụ̀·rụ̀·- hàá· íhé = á hụ̀·rụ̀-hìíhé , They saw something, há· hụ̀·rụ̀· íhé .

(vi)

Object with Low 1st Syllable

In this case, the Objects me and them have the same Low as the 1st Syllable of the Noun-Object:-

á gàràm̀ ḥgàáhụ̀· , I went there, ḿ gàrà ḥgàáhụ̀·

á ghụ̀rụ̀-mààhụ́· = ḿ ghụ̀rụ̀ àhụ́· I washed my body, I took a bath.

é nyèrèm̀ há· ọ̀kụ́kụ̀ = é nyèrèm̀ họ̀ọ̀kụ́kụ̀ = ḿ nyèré họ̀ọ̀kụ́kụ̀ I gave them a fowl.

(g) Benefit of Another

(g) (i) If we double the Internal Vowel of the Verb we arrive at forms denoting for The Benefit of Person (Section 8:20-1, Page 78 ff).

(ii)

When using these benefit -forms, we cease to employ the causal construction of (ff) above and we return to the active construction of (f) above: just as in (f.ii), we are not limited to I and They but can use any one of the Objective Personal Pronouns.

(iii)

Before a Noun whose first syllable is high, these pronouns have the same rising tone as in (ff.v) above, but instead of being Objective Pronouns in the Accusative, they are now in the Dative in the sense of for or to.

Examples of High Noun-Object.

(a) é shìrìḿ ńrí, Food was cooked for me (literally:- Some doer cooked food for me), há· shìrìḿ ńrí (compare this with é shìrìḿ ńrí in (ff.v. above).

(b) é zìtèèrèḿ létà , Someone sent a letter (inwards) to me.

(c) é zìgààrà yàá létà, A letter was dispatched (outwards) to him.

Examples of High Noun-Object

(d) é shììrìgịị́ ńrí , Food was cooked for you.

(e) é shììrìyàá ńrí , Food was cooked for him.

(f) é shììrì ànyị́ ńrí,Food was cooked for us.

(g) é shììrì hàá· ńrí,Food was cooked for them.

(h) é shììrì únù ńrí, Food was cooked for you.

(j) é nyèèrè-màáká ná ńjìdéya , I received help in arresting him. (but by (ff), é nyèrè-màáká ná ńjìdéya(literally:- Some agency caused me to give a hand in arresting him), I helped to arrest him.

(Two Objects in construction of ff.v. above):-

(k) é nyèrèm̀ hàá· áká (literally:- Some agency caused me to help them), I helped them. (Elided) é nyèrèm̀-hàáká.

é (Two Objects in construction of ff.v. above)

(l) é nyèrè-hà· màáká:They helped me.

We have here an alternative form:-

(m) é nyèrè-hm̀àáká (here, the m̀ is syllabic and so hm̀ is pronounced exactly like the English interjection of surprise hm! , though in English, hm! has falling tone not two Low Tones as in the Ibo example above).

Benefit of the Subject

Not as in the above examples in this paragraph, benefit of the Object.

(n) á zụ̀ụ̀rụ̀ḿ kwụ́ọ́ ụ́gwọ (cf. 1st example in ff.v. above) They bought me cash down for themselves (as a slave) (Benefit of the Object).

(o) á zụ̀ụ̀rụ̀-máázụ̀· , A fish was bought for me. (Causal)

(p) á zụ̀rụ̀-màázụ̀· , I bought fish (Past Tense)

(q) Another's Benefit:
á sààrà-màáká , Someone washed my hands for me. (Causal).

(r) á sàrà-màáká , I washed my hands.

(s) é gbùjììrì-mòóshíshí, A tree was cut down for me.

(t) é gbùjìrì mòóshíshí , I cut down a tree.

(u) á fụ̀nyụ̀ụ̀rụ̀-mọ̀ọ́kụ́ , Someone put out the fire for me.

(v) á fụ̀nyụ̀rụ̀-mọ̀ọ́kụ́ , I extinguished the fire.

(w) é gbubíírí-mọ̀ọ́kà , The maize was cut off for me.

(x) é gbubírí-mọ̀ọ́kà , I lopped off the maize.

(ii) Noun with Low 1st Syllables: Examples:-

é gbubíírí-mụ́ụ́dọ́ , The rope was cut for me. (é gbubírí-mụ́ụ́dọ́ , I cut the rope=(Past Tense) ....

(ii) Noun with Low 1st Syllables: Examples:-

ḿ gbubiri ụdọ. ḿ gbubiiri ụdọ , I cut the rope for myself.

(h) When the construction is such that it is not possible to use the Benefit Form, then confusion arises: thus, á ghụ̀rụ̀-mààhụ́· is used almost exclusively in the causal construction (ff. above: I washed my body) but there is nothing except the accepted usage against this being used in the active construction on the model of the 1st example in (f.ii) above, by which it would mean: My body was washed (literally, Someone washed me in regard to the body).

(j) We also double the internal vowel of the Verb when the sense is Self-Benefit in the causal construction:-

Examples:-

é bùùrù-mụ̀ụ́tá , I took the blame on myself.

á dọ̀ọ̀rọ̀-mèégo nà báǹkị̀ , I drew money from the bank for myself.

íbìnàrà = ị́gbwanara , borrow for oneself:-

é bìnààràm̀ (= é gbwànààràm̀) yàá égo , (elided form) é bìnààràm̀ (= é gbwànààràm̀) yéégo, I borrowed money from him , (Past Tense) ḿ bìnààrà-yéégo .

á gbwànààrà-hà· yéégo , They borrowed money from him (Past Tense) há· gbwànààrà-yéégo .

è nwèèrèm̀--gèèkèlé , I am grateful to you.

(k) Sometimes the same form falls under several of the above classes

é zùùrù-mèégo (1)Active Self-Benefit , They stole money for themselves from me. (á zụ̀ụ̀rụ̀ḿ kwụ́ọ́ ụ́gwọ) They bought me for themselves as a slave.

(2).Causal , I stole money (- ḿ zụ̀ụ̀rụ̀ égo).

é bùùrù-mụ̀ụ́tá , I took the blame.

(3). Benefit of Another They stole money for me.

(4). Verbal Noun 2.

(a) To form VN 2, we use 'e' before Verbs haing Group 1 Vowels, but 'a' before Verbs with Group 2 Vowels.

(b) Before 'H' Verb, this Prefix e- , a- is low, but before 'L' Verb, this Prefix e- , a- is high. In the case of 'L-Verbs' , therefore, the VN 1, and the VN 2, both are HL, but differ in Prefix i.e. VN 1 ílì, burying; but VN 2 élì .

Examples:-

(1) Verb in 2e.i:- èshí, cooking. èbú , lifting . èdé , writing.

(II) Verb in 2e.ii:- àrị́ - climbing. àbọ́ , weeding àzụ́ buying. àgá , going .

(III) Verbs in 2e.iii :- élì , burying. ébù , fatness. ésè , pulling.

(ii) Noun with Low 1st Syllables: Examples contd

(k) (4)b. Examples:-
(IV) Verbs of 2e. iv :-
ápụ , squeezing. ábọ , dismembering a carcase. ázụ , tending. ázà , sweeping.

(V) Verb in 2f.i :-

ègbújí , the cutting down.

Verb in 2f.ii :-
áfụnyụ , the extinguishing.

Verb in 2f.iii :-
èwéfụ , removing.

Verb in 2f.iv :-
ègbúbí , the cutting off.

(VI) 3-Syllable and 4-Syllable Verbs of 2f.iv:-

HM + VL + VL (3-syllable-Verb plus its Prefix): HM + VL + VL + VL + VL (4-syllable Verb plus its Prefix) :- VN 2 àtụkwàsị (VN 1, ịtụkwásị) relying on. VN 2, àlághàcí (VN 1, ịlaghácí) returning . VN 2, èwékèjé (VN 1, íwekéjé) removal.

'. 4 -syllable verb plus its prefix :- àkpákàlátá (VN 1 ɪ́kpakàlátá) 'approaching'.

(c) (i) VN 2 changes the tone of the following noun in accordance with the ordinary tone-rules :-

ɪ́kwa has VN 2 àkwá : ànyɪ́ jì ǹkʊ́ àkwá ǫ́kʊ 'se use firewood for making a fire (ǫ́kʊ́)'.

íme has VN 2 èmé : ǫ́ mààrà èméya 'he knows how to do it'.

íwefʊ̀ has VN 2 èwéfʊ̀ : ǫ́ mààrà èwéfʊ ṇkaá 'he knows how to remove this' (B.5e, Page 15). As we saw in H.2g (Page 35), VN 1 has no effect on next noun, hence , instead of final syllable of LHL èwéfʊ̀ becoming LHM èwéfʊ, the LHL of VN 1 undergoes no change :- íwefʊ̀ ṇkaá .

(ii) The influence of VN 2 on the following noun is due to the fact that it governs it in the genitive in the same way as íshí ényi 'the head of the elephant' :hence, the literal meaning of ǫ́ mààrà èméya is 'he knows the doing of it'.

On the contrary, as mentioned in H.2g (Page 35), VN 1 governs its object in the accusative just as the verb from which it is derived, does : therefore, ɪ́fʊ̀nyʊ̀ ǫ́kʊ́ 'the act of extinguishing fire' has ǫ́kʊ́ in the objective (i.e. accusative) case without change of tone in the object ǫ́kʊ́, as does ǫ́ fʊ̀nyʊ̀rʊ̀ ǫ́kʊ́ 'he extinguished the fire'. On the other hand, áfʊ̀nyʊ́ ǫ́kʊ means 'the extinguishing of fire' (genitive) with ǫ́kʊ́ changed to ǫ́kʊ́ .

(iii) VN 2 is mostly used in the formation of tenses, but is in some cases used independently as we saw above, after the verb 'to know'.

(iv) VN 1 is not used in the formation of tenses, but is always used independently :-

Examples

í.hyé. ɪ́tʊ naanya 'a surprising thing'. ǫ́ cǫ̀rǫ̀ ímegbuṃ 'he tried to cheat me'.

ǫ́ jʊ̀rʊ̀ íwèṃ 'he refused to take me'. ṃ gàrà ɪ́mʊ̀ ǫ́·rʊ́. nááká òbì ákwʊ́kwǫ́ 'I went to learn the work in the employ of a printer' (lit. 'I went in regard to learning the work').

5. PRESENT HABITUAL.

(a) We prefix to VN 2 (4 above) a particle nà meaning ' is in the habit of'. (b)This nà prefixed to such forms above as have initial a- becomes nàà .

(c) As nà has a Group 2 vowel we use Group 2 vowels for the subject pronouns.

(d) When we prefix nà to such forms of VN 2 as have initial e- we get nae- which becomes assimilated into nèè- .

(e) Nevertheless, as this nèè- is derived from nà + e-, we use Group 2 vowels for the subject pronouns (ɪ́ 'you' : ǫ́ 'he'). But nevertheless, as the actual sound heard is nèè- (Group 1 vowels), this leads to the fact that the origin is forgotten and the Group 1 vowels (í 'you' : ó 'he') are used alternatively with the Group 2 vowels ɪ́, ǫ́ .

This alternative cannot apply to 5b above, since nà + initial A- becomes nàà where the original Group 2 vowel A remains unchanged as Group 2.

Examples

verb in 4b.ii: vowel -ɪ,-ǫ,-a

ṃ nààrɪ́ 'I habitually climb' . ɪ́ nààrɪ́ 'you climb'. ǫ́ nààrɪ́ 'he (she, it) climbs'. ànyɪ́ (=ányɪ̀) nààrɪ́ 'we climb'. únù nààrɪ́ 'you people climb'. há. nààrɪ́ 'they climb'. ènwè nà ónógbò nààrɪ́ ' monkeys and cats are climbers'.

ɪ́ nààbǫ́ 'you weed'. ǫ́ nààzʊ́ ' he sweeps'. ɪ́ nààgá 'you go'. ǫ́ nààgá 'he goes'. ṃ nààgá 'I go'.

verbs in 4b.iv : vowels -a: -ǫ

ṃ nàázà 'I sweep' (< nàà ázà : VN 2. See Section A.5b.iv on Pa-

ge 5). ɨ́ nàázà 'you sweep'. ǫ́ nàá-zà 'she sweeps'. ɨ́ nàábǫ̀ 'you di-smember carcases'. há· nàábǫ̀ 'they cut up carcases'.

verbs in 4b.i : vowels -i, -u,-e

ɨ́ nèèshí 'my habit is to cook'. ɨ́ nèèshí = í nèèshí (5e above) 'you cook'. ǫ́ nèèshí = ó nèèshí (5e above) 'she (he) cooks'. ɨ́ nèè-bú = í nèèbú 'you carry'. únù nèèbú 'you folk carry'. ǫ́ nèèdé = ó nèèdé 'he writes'.

verbs in 4b.iii :vowels -i, -e

í nèélì 'you bury'. ɨ́ nèésè 'you pull'. ǫ́ nèésè 'he (she) pu-lls'.

verbs in 4b.v : vowels -u,-ụ, -e

ǫ́ nèègbújí óshíshí 'he cuts down trees'. ɨ́ nàáfụ̀nyụ́ ǫ́kụ 'he extinguishes fires (ǫ́kụ́)'. ǫ́ nèè-wéfụ̀ 'he removes' (< ǫ́ nàà èwé-fụ̀: se Section A.5b.iv on Page 5). ǫ́ nèègbúbì ǫ́kà (Section A.4b on Page 11) 'he cuts off maize'.

(f) (i) When we have a compou-nd verb whose 1st element is H and whose 2nd element is the ve-rb ɨ́ka 'exceeding', the word meaning 'is in the habit '(NEE: NAA) has falling glide H to L. (ii) When the 1st element is L and the 2nd element is ɨ́ka, then NAA has falling glide H to M :-

Examples of (i)

íwe (H verb) 'angering': ǫ́ nèè-wékáya iwe 'it makes him very angry'. ɨ́rụ· (H verb) 'working' : ǫ́ náà rụ́·ká ǫ́·rụ· 'he's al-ways very busy'.

Example of (ii)

ɨ́zà (L verb) 'sweeping' : ǫ́ náazàká ụ́lǫ̀ 'he always sweeps t-he house most meticulously'.

(iii) If we have a noun-subje-ct, then the NEE, NAA of 5f ab-ove stands 3rd in the sentence being preceded by the E, A of H.3f.i (Page 37) : this E,A taking a tone one pitch lower than the noun-subject which stands before it. After L, we use à

Examples

A. noun with final H :H verb with Group 1 vowel

íwé a neè wékáya 'anger often overcomes him' (< na + ė). Unlike 5e on Page 38, we use A be-fore both NAA and NEE.

B. noun with final M : H verb with Group 2 vowel

ɨ́kpǫ (H verb) 'nailing' :í·hú· ǫ́jǫ́ǫ à nàä kpǫ́káṃ 'bad luck con-stantly dogs me'.

C. Noun with final L : H verb with Group 2 vowel

ɨ́tụ (H verb) 'overcoming' : égwù à náà tụ́káya 'he's a prey to fear'.

D. Noun with final L : H verb with Group 1 vowel

íyi (H verb) 'resembling' : ṃ́hụ́· náányá nà ákpǫ́-másị̀ à nèè-yíká 'love and hate resemble ea-ch other'.

E. noun with final H : L verb with Group 2 vowel followed by 2 further syllables + ɨ́ka, this compound verb having prefix + 4 further syllables

ɨ́dà (L verb) 'falling' :ɨ́narị 'away : vanishing' : í.hyé· a naàdänárɨ́káya naaka 'everything (he holds) falls invariably out of his grasp' : (colloquially) 'he's a butterfingers'.

(iv) In Example E above , we had a compound verb in which ɨ́ka is the final element.But if ɨ́ka does NOT stand last, we do not have falling glide on NEE , NAA :-

ɨ́ta 'chew' : ɨ́ka 'exceeding': ɨ́sị 'thoroughly' (H verb) :- yá nà nwúnyèyá nàà tákásɨ́ onwe hà· 'he and his wife lead a cat and dog life'.

(g) The present habitualchanges the tone of the following -

40

noun in accordance with the ordinary tone rules : we have already seen examples of this i.e. :- Page 39, Column 1, ọ́kụ́ > ọ́kụ . In 5f .iv (foot of Page 39), ọ̀nwé > onwe .

Examples

ọ́ nèérí ọ́rí 'he eats food (ọ́rí).

ọ̀ké 'rat' : ḿ nèègbú oke ga 'I kill rats (ọ̀ké)'.

ḿ nààcọ́ ọcịcà gà 'I always look for cockroaches (ọ̀cịca)'.

ànyị́ nàázụ́ ọkụkụ́ gà 'we constantly buy fowls'.

6. PRESENT CONTINUOUS.

(a) This is formed on the same model as 5 above, but nèè, nàà become respectively nè, nà . nèé, nàá become respectively mid-toned:- ne , na .

(b) Examples

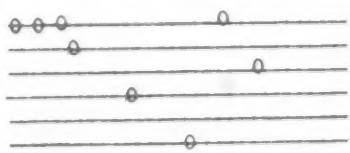
verb in 4b.ii

i. ḿ nàrị́ 'I am climbing'. ị́ nàrị́' you're climbing'. ọ́ nàrị́ 'he's climbing'. ị́ nàbọ́ 'you're weeding' . ọ́ nàzụ́ 'he's buying'. ị́ nágá 'you are going'.

ii. verbs in 4b.iv

ị́ nabọ́ 'you're cutting up the carcase'. ọ́ nabọ́ 'he's cutting up' . ị́ nazà 'you're sweeping'. ị́ nazà ụ́lọ̀ 'you're sweeping the house'.

N.B. When we have noun whose last syllable is H + mid-toned possessive-pronoun + verb originally L, then the word NA is 2 tones below the possessive-pronoun, to distinguish the sentence from a relative sentence containing the same words i.e. the relative form of the example given below is 'my eldest son who is ill'. See



'my eldest son is ill (L verb ị́ryà)'.

iii. verbs in 4b.i

ị́ nèshí 'you are cooking'. ọ́ nèdé 'he is writing'.

iv. verbs in 4b.iii

ọ́ nelí 'he is burying'. ànyị́ nelí 'we're burying'. há. nesé' they are pulling'.

v. verbs in 4b.v

ọ́ nègbújí ọ́shíshí 'he's cutting down the tree'. ọ́ nafụ̀nyụ́ ọ́kụ 'he's extinguishing the fire'. ọ́ nèwéfụ̀ ẹ́gó à 'he's removing this money'. ọ́ nègbúbì ọ́kà 'he's cutting off the maize'.

N.B. It will have been noticed that unless it is absolutely necessary, there is no need to distinguish definite from indefinite, as a bare noun expresses both 'a' and 'the'. Naturally, if required we can add à 'this' or áhụ̀ 'that' :- ọ́ nègbújí ọ́shíshí à 'he's cutting down this tree' : 'he's cutting down the tree'. ọ́ nègbújí ọ́shíshí áhụ̀ 'he's cutting down that tree'

vi. verbs of 4b.v with prefix + 3 syllables and 4 syllables

(type 1d.i) ọ́ nègbújícá ọ́shíshí 'he's completely (ịca) felling the tree' (VN 1 ígbujica).

(type 1d.ii) ọ́ nafụ̀nyụ̀cá ' 'he's extinguishing utterly'(VN 1 ífụ̀nyụ̀cà).

(type 1d.iii) ọ́ nèwéfụ̀cá ' 'he's removing totally' (VN 1 íwefụ̀cà).

(type 1d.iv) ọ́ nègbúbì ọ́kà ' he's cutting off maize'. ọ́ nàlághàcí 'he's returning' (VN 1 ịlaghàcî). ọ́ nàkpákàlátá 'he's approaching'(VN 1 íkpakàlàtá).

(c) Unlike H.5f (Page 39) , the fact of íka being the final verb of a compound has no

effect on the tone of NE, NA : - VN 1 ísògbù 'worrying', VN 2 bei-ng ésògbú : ǫ́ nesǫ̀gbú 'he is worrying': ǫ́ nesǫ̀gbúká 'he is wo-rried to death'.

(d) The continuous changes the tone of the next noun as in H.5g (foot of Page 39) :- ǫ́ nafụ̀nyụ́ ǫ́kụ 'he's extinguishing the fire (ǫ́kụ́)'.

(e) IMPERSONAL CONTINUOUS.

We have an alternative form of the present continuous, this (as in H.3f, Page 37) being restri-cted to 'I' and 'they' :we use VN 2 with L suffixed pronouns (-m̩ : hà·).

Examples :- H verb ícǫ 'seeking' á nà-mààcǫ́ íga 'I wish to go' (lit. 'there is a desire by me to go') = ḿ̩ nàcǫ́ íga . (àcǫ́ is VN 2)

á nà-hàà·cǫ́ íga = há· nàcǫ́ íga 'they want to go'.

íbǫ̀ 'cutting up' : VN 2 ábǫ̀. ímụ̀ 'learning' : VN 2 ámụ̀

á nà-mààcǫ́ íbǫ̀ ánụ́· = ḿ̩ nàcǫ́ í-bǫ̀ ánụ́· 'I want to cut up the me-at of the carcase'. á nàhàà·cǫ́ í-bǫ̀ ánụ́· 'they want to cut up the carcase' = há· nàcǫ́ íbǫ̀ ánụ́·

L verb á nà-màámụ ụ̀kà ('a le-arning of art (ụ̀kà) is being done by me' (13a, Page 59) = ḿ̩ namụ̀ ụ̀-kä (13a) 'I'm studying art'.á nà-hàá·mụ ụ̀ka=há· namụ̀ ụ̀kà 'they're studying art'. As here,pronoun-ob-jects must be L, we have rising glide(unlike 12t,Page 58).

H verb :- íce 'waiting for' : á nà-mèècé ǫ̀bíbyáya 'I am await-ing his arrival'.

7. DISTINCTION OF CONJUGATIONS BY USE OF TONE.

(a) We saw in H.1d on Page 34 that when we form a compound verb , the tones of such compound dep-end on the tones of the various elements constituting the whole : we saw also that it is essential to know the tones resulting from compounding the elements and th-at there is a fixed scheme which governs the whole procedure.

(b) It is therefore profitable to examine how far the resultant whole enables us to separate the compound out into its separate el-ements. Obviously, if we meet a compound verb for the first time, we cannot understand its sense or composition unless we break it up and study it element by element .

(c) Even if we succeed in this, and assign the correct tone to ea-ch element, we are faced with ch-oosing which meaning should be ascribed to the verb, for we oft-en have a verb whichembraces sev-eral senses under the same tone.

(d) For example, if we meet the verb íkǫwa, we see from H.1d.i th-at this consists of H verb kǫ́ + H verb wá . If we deal first wi-th wá, we find it to mean (i) 'to break up' : (ii) 'to begin to do' . When we wrestle with kǫ́,we see that it means (i) 'to describe' . (ii) 'becoming dry'. (iii)'itchi-ness'. (iv) 'being scarce'. (v) 'joining'. (vi) 'shaving'. Hence, íkǫwa 'describing' derives from 'describe' + 'break up into its constituent details'.

(e) Let us, for instance,deter-mine how far the careful and rig-id scheme of H.1d (VN 1) and H.4 (VN 2) assist us.

(f) Looking at H.2f, clearly í-gbuji and ífụ̀nyụ̀ are sure guid-es for HMM can only be a compou-nd of H + H : HLL can only have L +H as its progenitor.

(g) When we consult íwefụ̀ , í -gbubi types in H.2f (Page 34) , we find we are clutching a broken reed for in each case, the 1st element can be either H or L : see N.B. to 3c.xvi on Page 36. The verb used in 3b.xi (Page 36) is easy to separate into its sen -ses of 'buy' or 'tend', but this is often a ticklish matter :-

ɨ́ta 'chewing' : ɨ́tà 'biting' . àkɨ̀kà tàràm̩ 'the termite bit me' (< ɨ́tà). átɨ́tá tàràm̩ 'an insect bit me' (< ɨ́tà : as átɨ́tá is derived from the verb, we should have expected the verb to be ɨ́ta by B.5L.i on Page 17 : on the contrary, átɨ́tá is an example of B.5L.iii). ŋ̀kɨ́ta tàràm̩ 'a dog bit me' (< ɨ́tà). See 3c.xvi on Page 36.

(h) See ADDENDA.

8. THE IMPERATIVE.

(a) The imperative of monosyllables, whether H or L, have rising glide from M to H (See (f) below).

b(i) The imperative of a verb such as ígbuji (H.2f.i, Page 34) and of a verb such as ɨ́fụ̀nyụ̀ (H.2f.ii) has MHH tones.

ii. The imperative of a verb such as íwefụ̀ (H.2f.iii) is HL

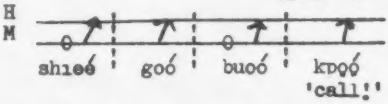
iii. The imperative of a verb as ígbubi (H.2f.iv, Page 35) is HL.

iv. In the imperative, certain vowels of verb-roots under -go expansion : these are :-

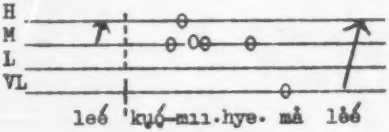
i̯ > ie	(both,Group 1 vowels : both, front vowels	
u > uo	(both,Group 1 vowels : both, back vowels)	
OR> ue	(back vowel + front)	
ɨ > ɨa	(both,Group 2 : both front vowels).	
u̯ > u̯a	(both Group 2 vowels : back + front vowel	
OR> u̯o	(both, back vowels).	

(c) Examples of imperatives :-

i. verbs in 4b.i :- shieé 'cook !'. VN 1 ígo 'buring!' : goó 'buy '. buoó = bueé 'carry' : lift!' . deé 'write !'. See kpọọ́ (12c.vi ,page 55.



N.B. All imperatives which begin in M tone e.g. shieé ! lower this to L after a word which ends in M or L :- leé 'see!' BUT kụọ́-mii·hye· mà lèé 'hit me with something, but (mà) look out!' i.e. 'hit me at your peril!'.



ii. verbs in 4b.ii :- rɨaá 'climb!'. bọọ́ 'weed!'. zụọọ́ = zụaá 'buy!' . gaá 'go!'. N.B. ɨ́bya > bɨaá 'come!'

iii. verbs in 4b.iii :- lieé 'bury!'. seé 'pull!'.

iv. verbs of 4b.iv :- bọọ́ ánụ· ' carve up the carcase'. zụọọ́ = zụaá 'tend! : educate! : bring up'. zaá 'sweep!'. pɨaá 'squeeze!'.

(cc)i. Certain verbs are palatalised and seem to derive from or -iginally 2-syllable verbs so that a verb such as ɨ́bya in 8f.ii above was originally ɨ́bɨa, hence the imperative is bɨaá 'come!'. This imperative is unique : imperative of ɨ́byà 'pressing down' is biaá !

ii. Since ɨ > ɨa (8b.iv opposite), verbs ending in -ɨ have im -peratives ending in -ɨaá, while verbs ending in -ya (apart from ' come!') have imperatives in -iaá:- ɨ́pɨ̀ 'squeezing', ɨ́pɨ 'carving an idol' both have pɨaá !. But, ɨ́pya 'folding' has imperative piaá !

iii. Of these palatalised verbs, only those in -ya have imperative: - -iaá . Those having -y- followed by a vowel other than -a keep the -y- in their imperatives :-

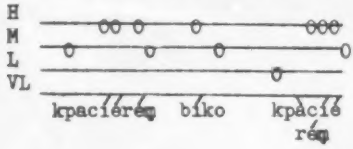
Examples

ífyǫ 'washing the body, taking a bath' (imperative :- fyǫǫ́). íhye 'tying' (hyeé !). ípyo 'slipping out of thing' (pyoó !). íryǫ 'requesting' (ryǫǫ́ !).

.....

(d) Compound Verbs HMM (4b.v)

(i) VN 1 ígbuji : gbujíé óshísh -í 'cut down the tree!'. (ii) lowering by N.B. to 8f.i, Page 42) :- VN 1 íkpaci 'darning'. kpacíérém koòtùm 'darn my coat for me!' : bíko kpàcíérém koòtùm 'please (bíko) darn my coat for me!'.



(iii) ítinye 'inserting' :tinyé* ógo niigbé 'put the money into the box!'. íjide catching hold of' : jidéye* 'catch hold of it!'.

(iv) íta 'drying up of river' : ígbwa 'proceeding to do' : ígbwata 'to drain' : gbwatáá+ àla á míri 'drain this land!'

(v) ípalite 'lifting up' : palíté* 'lift up!' (3-syllable HMM).

(vi) add to (iv) above :- íry· 'working' : íma 'being good' :íry·-ma 'working well' : ry·máá+ 'work well!'.

(e) Expansion And Doubling

(i) We saw in H.8e above that the four vowels i, ɩ, u, ʊ are expansible, while the four vowels o, ǫ, a, e cannot be expanded.

(ii) It therefore results that expansion and doubling are counter-parts of one another and that where we expand the final syllable of a verb ending in -i, -ɩ, -u, -ʊ, we double the final syllable of a verb ending in -o, -ǫ, -a, -e . So, ry·máá in (vi) above is the counterpart of gbujíé in (i) above.

(iii) Hence, the two end-vowels -íé correspond with the doubled -áá . In the imperatives of the monosyllabic verbs, we have gaá for non-expansible vowel and shieé for the expansible -i . If we followed the logical correlation of 2 identical vowels (-aá) with 2 vowels due to expansion, we should have gaá = shié : but, if we correlate 2 vowels with 2 vowels, we must also correlate tone with tone in two cases built on the same model.

Hence, as we have rising glide caused by midtoned a + high á, we require the equivalent rising tone for 'eat!'. So long as we have shié, we have vowels different from one another, so to obtain the required rising glide, we raise the tone of the last syllable to -eé and obtain e.g. shieé : we saw an identical process in Section C.1c, Page 19.

(iv) Some verbs ending in the expansible vowels -i, -ɩ, -u, -ʊ do NOT expand :again, other verbs which end in -o, ǫ, -a, -e do NOT double. These exceptional verbs are listed in H.10k-m below.

(v) As a guidance, I have starred in (d) in the column opposite, such verbs as are members of H.10 and so legitimately, do not double or expand. Such are :- tinyé* (NOT tinyéé) : palíté* (NOT palitéé): jidé* (NOT jidéé).

(vi) I have marked with the sign +, verbs in the column opposite, which are not prevented from doubling by H.10k, and so proceed to double the final sound. These are :- ry·máá+ : gbwatáá+ . N.B. In H.10, we have a verb -te = -ta 'returning : towards : hither' : palíté in (v) above is an example of this -te = -ta, so also is lǫtá 'return here!' (VN 1 ílǫta) . BUT, as seen in d.iv in the opposite column, the -ta used in the

example :- gbwatáá+ is not the ve-rb 'hither' belonging to H.10 , but is a verb of the same sound , but having no connection with 'hither' : hence, gbwatáá (NOT gbwatá), but lǫtá* (NOT lǫtáá).

(f) COMPOUND VERBS CONTINUED FROM 8d ON PAGE 43.

i. verb in 4b.v (Page 37). HLL

In the present paragraph, I shall continue starring the verbs belonging to H.10 . All left unmarked are examples of verbs following the ordinary principles stated in (e) on Page 43, excluding where mention of H.10 is made.

fụnyụ́ǫ́ 'extinguish!'. íjide* 'arresting' : jidé nwóke à 'arrest this man!'. 3-syllable root :- ɨfụ̀nyụ̀cà > fụnyụ́cá* 'extinguish completely!'.

ii. verb in 4b.v. HM + VL-fụ̀ íwefụ̀ > wéfụ̀* 'remove!'. 3-syllable root :- íwefụ̀cà > wéfụ̀cá* 'remove completely!'.

iii. verb in 4b.v. HM + VL (NOT verb fụ̀

ɨgbwanwò 'receiving in exchange' > gbwánwoó ! . ígbubî 'cutting off' > gbúbieé ! see addenda 33.

iv. verbs in 4b.vi. HM + VL + VL (not verb fụ̀).

ɨlaghàchî > lághachí* (see -ghàchì foot of page 50) 'return!'. ɨfụkǫ̀sî > fụ́kǫsɨá* 'roll up completely!'.

v. 4b.vi verbs. prefix + 4 syllables :- ɨkpakàlàtà* > kpákalátá 'approach!'. note that certain verbs have irregular tones :- íkpuchîbîdò > kpúchibidó ! kpúchibidóya 'cover it over!' (not kpúchibídóya) : for verbs with prefix + 3 syllables irregular on this pattern, see addenda 33.

Page 34, confusion arises (see end of H.7 in Addenda) between the verbs of H.2f.iv and H.2f.-iii (Pages 35, 34 respectively).

Thus :- ɨgbwa 'running' : ɨdà 'falling' : ɨgbwadà 'running downwards' : gbwádaá (modelled on (iii) opposite :- gbwánwoó) = gbwádà úgwu (modelled on (ii) opposite :- wéfụ̀) 'run downhill!'.

(h) The principle stated in 8e ii, iii (Page 43) is carried even further, for (i) in the case of benefit-forms (Page), we find that double expansible vowel can be substituted without expansion for their own expanded forms :-

Examples

past tense : ígbu 'killing' : ó gbùrù ényí 'he killed an elephant'. ó gbùùrù ényí = ó gbùòrò ényí 'he killed an elephant for himself'. ó gbùùrù-méényí = ó gbùòrò-méényí 'he killed an elephant for me'.

(ii) In some cases, verbs follow alternatively 2f.i or 2f.iv (Page 34) :-

Example

ɨgbwakwu = ɨgbwakwù 'running towards'. gbwakwúúya (2f.i) =gbwakwúóya = gbwákwuúya (2f.iv)=gbwákwuóya 'run towards him!'.

(j) i. in high, mid + very- low verbs like ígbubî (< high or low verb + low verb : 2f.iv, page 35) or like íwefụ̀ type on page 34 (< high or low verb + the low verb ɨfụ̀), addition of 1 or more verbs of any tone causes no change : -

example where high verb added

ígbubî + ɨcha > ígbubîchà . ɨkpakà + ɨla 'returning' + ɨta 'towards' > ɨkpakàlàtà 'approaching'.

example where low verb added

ɨghà 'leaving behind' : íchì 'turning back' : ɨlaghà + íchì > ɨlaghàchî 'returning'.

ii. in high, low, low verbs(2f.

11, page 34) like ʃfùnyù (< low + high), adding 1 or more high verbs > high, low, low (ʃfùnyùch -à), so conjugation is not changed, whereas addition of low verb (including low, low : low, hi -gh : high, low) converts ʃfùnyù type into ʃlaghâchî type.

example :- if we start with íkpùchì (< íkpù 'put on a hat' : ìchi 'blocking') and add -bìdò (< íbì 'cutting' : ído 'put away '), we arrive at íkpuchîbîdò (f.v, page 44).

if we add an imaginary -dòbì (instead of the real -bìdò), we get the same tones (imaginary íkpuchîdòbî), for the low verb íbì has the same effect as if it stood immediately after íkpùchì.

(iii) the high, mid, mid verbs (2f.1 page 34) also become upset by addition of a low verb : ìchi 'blocking' : ʃgbwa 'proceeding to do' > ʃgbwachi (2f.1) :- ó gbwàchìrì ʃzò 'he locked the door' : but if we add -bìdò, the result is ʃgbwachîbîdò 'hemming in prey' (4b.vi, top page 38).

(jj) see addenda 11 (page 123)

(k) two imperatives

gaá, leé ónyé naku 'go and see who is knocking at the door!' ruóó· ó·ru·gi, gáá níí·hú· 'go on with your work!' (N.B. to H.8c.1, Page 42).

jí ḿmiri (=weré ḿmiri), fùnyùó ókù 'take some water to extinguish the fire!'.

(L)effect on following noun

The imperative changes the next noun in accordance with the usual tone-rules :- shieé ùri 'cook some food! (ùrí)'. boó ánu· 'dismember the carcase!(ánú·) '. goó uwe 'buy some clothes (ùwé)!'. jí ḿmiri 'use some water for the purpose of.....!(míri)'. funyúó ókù put out the fire!(ókù)'.

(m) THE CONTINUOUS IMPERATIVE

This employs VN 2(H.4, Page 37)

i. H verb :- nèèshí 'keep on coking!' (VN 2 èshí). ʃza 'reply-ing' : náàzá 'keep on replying!' (VN 2 àzá). náàrù· ó·ru· 'work on

ii. L verb :- íbè 'cutting':née -bè 'continue cutting!' VN 2 ébè) . ʃzà 'sweeping' : náazá 'go on with your sweeping!' (VN 2 ázà). náazá ùlò 'go on sweeping the hou

(n) PLURAL IMPERATIVE -sé:

shieé nù· 'cook!' (said to several persons). gaá nù· 'go!' (several persons). wéríù nù· 'you people are to remove!'.

9. THE FUTURE

(a) This uses gà + VN 2 (H.4 on Page 37) and the phonetic rules applying to nà (H.5a-e, Page 38) also apply to gà.

(b) Examples

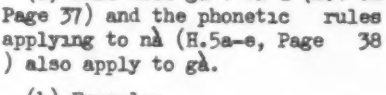
i. verbs of 4b.ii :- ḿ gàár ʃ 'I shall climb'. ʃ gàár ʃ 'you'll climb'. ó gàár ʃ 'he'll climb'. ḿ gàázù 'I shall buy'. ànyʃ gàágá = ányʃ gàágá 'we'll go'.

ii. verbs of 4b.iv

ʃ gàábò 'you'll dismember the carcase'. ʃ gàázà 'you'll sweep' . ó gàázà 'he'll sweep'.

iii. verbs of 4b.i

ḿ gèèshí 'I shall cook'.ʃ gèèshí = í gèèshí 'you'll cook'.há· gèèshí 'they'll cook'. ànyʃ (= ányʃ) gèèshí 'we'll cook'. ó gèè -dé = ó gèèdé 'he will write'.



ḿ gèèshí' ó gàázà ' nèèshí
((m)above)

iv. verbs of 4b.iii

ó gèèll 'he'll bury'. únù gèésè 'you folk will pull'.

v. verbs of 4b.v

ó gèègbují 'he'll cut down'. ó

gàáfụ̀nyụ́ 'he will extinguish' . ḿ gèèwéfụ̀ 'I'll remove'. ị́ gèègbú -bì ọ́kà 'you'll cut off the maize'

(c) The future affects the tone of the next word in accordance with the usual tone-rules :-ọ́ gèèshí ụ́ri 'she will cook the food (ụ́rí)' . ḿ gàábọ̀ ánụ· 'I'll cut up the carcase (ánụ́·)'.

(d) IMPERSONAL FUTURE

(See 3f, Page 37 : 6e, Page 41).

H verb

á gà-mààgá 'I shall go' = ḿ gààgá . á gà-hàà·gá (lit. 'there will be a going by them') = há· gààgá 'they will go'.

L verb

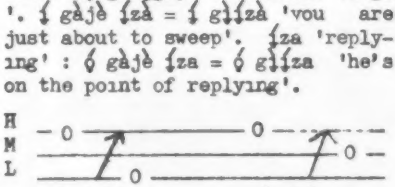
á gà-màámụ̀ 'I shall learn' (6e,Page 41). á gà-màámụ ṇkaả 'I'll learn this'. á gà-hàá·mụ̀ 'they'll learn'. á gà-hàá·mụ ṇkả 'they'll study art'

(e) IMPENDING ACTION

(i) To express 'is about to', we use VN 1 (H.1, Page 34) preceded by gàjè = gà : the word gàjè is ab-breviated from gààjé 'will go':-

Examples

ọ́ gàjè ị́ga = ọ́ gìị́ga (derived fr-om :- ọ́ gà ị́ga) 'he's about to go'. ị́ gàjè ị́zà = ị́ gìị́zà 'you are just about to sweep'. ị́za 'replying' : ọ́ gàjè ị́za = ọ́ gìị́za 'he's on the point of replying'.



ị́ gìị́zà 'you're about to sweep'. ọ́ gìị́za 'you're about to reply

ḿ gàjè íshi = ḿ gìíshi 'I'm just going to cook'. ọ́ gàjè ígbuji osh-ishi = ọ́ gìígbuji oshishi 'he is just going to fell the tree'.

ọ́ gìị́fụ̀nyụ̀ ọ́kụ́ etc. 'he's about to blow out the light' (NOT ọ́kụ : H.2g, Page 35). ọ́ gìíwefụ̀ etc. 'he's about to remove'. ọ́ gìígbubî ọ́kà = ọ́ gàjè ígbubî ọ́kà 'he's about to cut off the maize'.

(f) IMPERSONAL IMPENDING ACTION

Similar to (d) in opposite co-lumn, but using VN 1 instead of VN 2 :-

á gà-mìị́ga = ḿ gìị́ga 'I am on the eve of departure'. á gà-hìị́-ga = há· gìị́ga 'they're about to go'.

(g) FUTURE CONTINUOUS

VN 2 preceded by NAA, NEE translates the future continuous : this word NEE, NAA means 'while' (Page), so the first example below means literally ' I shall be whilst loving her'. NEE is used before Group 1 vowels, NAA before Group 2 vowels :-

ḿ gà náàhụ́·ya naanya rue ebì-ghèbî 'I shall love her for ever' (ị́hụ· naanya 'lit. 'seeing with the eye' = 'loving').

ọ́ gà naảzả ụ́lọ̀ 'he'll not relax his efforts in sweeping the house' : (colloquially) ' he'll peg away at sweeping the house'.

10. THE PERFECT

(a) The perfect suffixes either -le or -la, when the preceding vowel is Group 1 (A. 5a on Page 4). When the preceding vowel is Group 2, then we suffix -la .

(b) The perfect is formed fr-om the imperative (H.g on Page 42) by suffixing -le or -la (as provided in (a) above).

(c) The H monosyllables and the HH disyllables (H.2e.i,H.2e.ii, H.2f.i, Page 34) have le-vel tones in the perfect i.e. M after high-toned subject-pronoun, but H after low-toned subject-pronoun (ányị̀ : únù) .

(d) The tones of the rest of the verb-types keep those of

their imperatives with the proviso that switching occurs when called for.

(e) As in H.8e, vowels which cannot expand, double their final vowel before -le , -la .

(ee) Examples

1. H verb of H.4b.i (Page 37).

ó shiele = ó shiela 'he has cooked'. ígo 'buying' : ó goole 'he has bought'. íme 'doing' : ó meele 'he has done'. ḿ buole 'I have carried'. í deele 'you've written'.

ii. H verbs of H.4b.ii

ḿ rịala 'I have climbed'. ó rịala 'he has climbed'. ó bọọla 'he has weeded' (VN 1 ɨbọ). ɨ gaala 'you've gone'. ó zụọla 'he has bought'.

iii. L verbs of H.4b.iii

ó lieélé 'he has buried'. ó lieé-lé ózu· 'he has buried the corpse'. ɨbọ > ɨ bọọlá 'you have cut up (a carcase)' : cf. ii above . ó buoólé 'he has become fat'. í seélé 'you have pulled'.

iv. L verbs of H.4b.iv

ɨ bọọlá see iii above. ó zaálá 'he has swept'. ó pịaálá 'he has squeezed' . ɨpya 'folding' : ó pịaálá 'he has folded' (8cc.i, Page 42).

ó zụọólá 'he has tended' (cf. i-i above). ɨdà 'falling' : ó daálá 'he has fallen'.

v. compound verbs of 4b.v. HMM

í gbujiele oshishi 'you have felled the tree'. ɨgbwatọ > ɨ gbwatọọla ụdọ 'you've loosened the rope'. ó rụ·maala 'he has worked well'.

vi. compound verb 4b.v. HLL

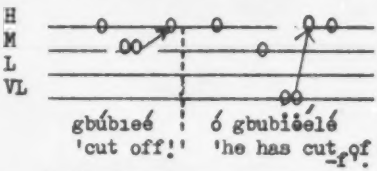
ó fụnyụọlá ókụ 'he has extinguished the fire'. vii. HM + VL-fụ ó wefụlá 'he has removed'.

viii. compound verb 4b.v. HM + VL-verb-NOT-fụ.

ó gbubiêéélé ókà 'he has cut off the maize'. 4v.vi ó laghácílé 'he has returned' (3-syllables). ó kpakàlátálá 'he has returned'.

(f) Where the sense requires , the form of the perfect is also used to express the English pluperfect :- ó lọtala rị (i) 'he has already returned'. (ii) 'he had already returned'.

(g) The perfect-tones of ígbubi type (8f.iv, v, Page 44) have longer steps between them than is the case in their imperative:



(gg) IMPERSONAL PERFECT

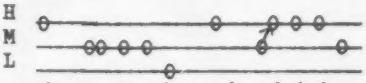
ụlá 'setting out' : ɨkwado 'preparing'. Example :- á kwadoole-mụụlá 'I'm ready to set out' (see Page 55) = ḿ kwadoole ụlà

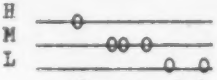
(h) TONE OF FOLLOWING NOUN

The perfect affects the tone of the following noun in accordance with the ordinary tone-rules :-

Examples

ó shiele ụrí 'she has cooked the food (ụrí)'. ó bọọlá ánụ· 'he has carved up the meat (ánụ·) (of the carcase)'. ḿ goole ùwè 'I've purchased clothes (ùwé)'. Change of ùwé to ùwè corresponds with change of ụlá to ḿ kwadoole ụlà (in (h) above





(jj) PERFECT WITH NOUN-SUBJECT

If a noun-subject is usedwith the perfect, we must insert be-

fore the perfect tense, the E, A of H.3f (Page 37) before Group 1 and Group 2 respectively. The subject-pronouns for 'we', 'you' (plu-ral) and 'they' are here, regarded as nouns (cf. Section D.5 on Page 27)

(jjj) I show below, the tones assu-med by E, A under the conditions mentioned there.

Examples

(i) high-toned noun-subject + H verb of 1-syllable

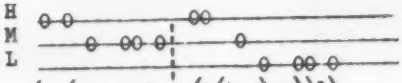
ényí a gaala 'the elephant has gone'.

(ii) mid-toned noun-subject + H verb of 1-syllable

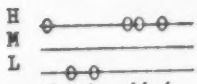
ŋ́kɨ́ta à gààlà 'the dog has gone'.

(iii) noun-subject ending in L + H verb of 1-syllable

ézè à gáálá 'the king has gone'. ézè è shíélé ŋ́ri 'the king has cooked some food'.



ényí a gaala ŋ́kɨ́ta à gààlà



ézè à gáálá

ànyɨ́ e shiele ŋrì = ányɨ̀ è shíélé ŋ́ri 'we have cooked the food'. únù è góólé ŋ́ri 'you folk have cooked food'. há· e goole anụ̀· 'they have bought meat'.

(iv) noun-subject ending in H + L verb of 1-syllable

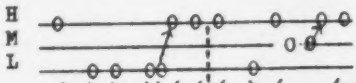
ényí à dàálá = ényí á dàála 'the elephant has fallen down'. (v) noun-subject ending in M :- ŋ́kɨ́ta à dà-álá = ŋ́kɨ́ta a dàálá 'the dog has fallen'.

(vi) noun-subject ending in L + L verb of 1-syllable

ézè à dàálá = ézè á dàálá 'the king has fallen'. ányɨ̀ è lìèélé = ányɨ̀ é lieélé 'we have buried'

únù à zàálá = únù á zaálá 'you people have swept'.

N.B. We see the same lowering here as in the imperative which is the prototype of the per-fect (N.B. to 8c.i, Page 42).



ányɨ̀ è lìèélé ányɨ̀ é lieélé

(vii) noun-subject ending H + compound verb 2f.i

ànyɨ́ e gbujiele oshishi 'we've cut down the tree'. (viii) noun-subject ending in M :- nwóke è gbùjìèlè òshìshì 'the man has felled the tree'. ɨ́gbwatọ 'loos-en, undo' : há· a gbwatọọla 'they have divorced each other'.

(ix) noun-subject ending L + compound verb 2f.i. ézè è gbújíélé óshíshí 'the king has fel-led the tree'.

(x) noun-subject ending in H + compound verb 2f.ii

ànyɨ́ à fụ̀nyụ́ọ́lá ọ́kụ (with low-ering as in N.B. at top of this column) = ànyɨ́ á fụnyụ́ọ́lá ọ́kụ 'we've extinguished the fire'.

(xi) noun-subject ending in M + compound verb 2f.ii

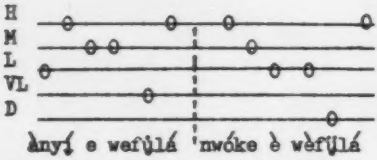
nwóke à fụ̀nyụ́ọ́lá ọ́kụ (with lo-wering as in N.B. at top of th-is column) =nwóke a fụ̀nyụ́ọ́lá ọ́kụ 'the man has put out the fire'.

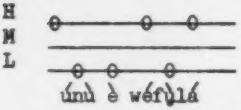
(xii) noun-subject ending L + compound verb 2f.ii

únù à fụ̀nyụ́ọ́lá ọ́kụ = únù á fụ̀-nyụ́ọ́lá ọ́kụ 'you peoplehave ex-tinguished the fire'.

(xiii) noun-subject ending H + compound verb 2fiii

ànyɨ́ e wefụ̀lá 'we have remov-ed'. (xiv) noun-subject endi-ng M :- nwóke è wèfụ̀lá 'the man has removed'. únù è wéfụ̀lá 'you people have removed'.





(xv) example of noun- subj -ect L

(xvi) noun-subject ending H + compound verb 2f.iv

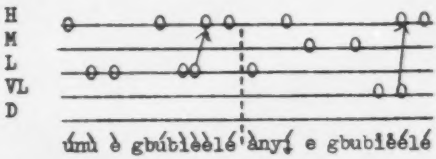
ànyị́ e gbubìëélé ọ́kà 'we have cut off the maize' (lowering as in N.B. at top Page 48).

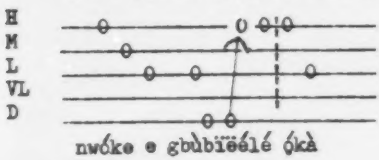
(xvii) noun-subject ending M + COMPOUND VERB 2f.iv

nwóke è gbùbïëélé ọ́kà 'the man has cut off the maize'.

(xviii) noun-subject ending L + compound verb 2f.iv

únù è gbúbìèélé 'you folk have cut off'.





(k) Verbs Not Doubling

N.B. In (k-m) '2nd' means 'final'

It was mentioned in 8e.iv (Page 43) that certain verbs do NOT double. As 2nd element of a compound, the following verbs do NOT double in perfect or imperative.

(i) -nye 'giving' : ítinye'put -ting, inserting' : ḿ tinyele egò nïïgbé 'I've put the money in the box'. tinyé égo nïigbé 'put the money into the box!'. (ii)This ap -plies also to the forms -ghi,-i which are alternatives of -nye, when -nye is 2nd element of any compound verb (see ínye in Dic -tionary) : thus ítinye =ítighi =ítii . So, ḿ tinyele egò nïïgbé = ḿ tighile egò nïïgbé = ḿ tiile egò nïïgbé 'I've put the money in the box'. tinyé (=tighí = tií) égo niigbé 'put the money into the box!'. See 5b.iv page 5.

(iii) -te (used after vowels of both Groups 1 and 2) =-ta (only used after Group 2) 'towards, hither':- íbute 'bringing' : búté ìgbé áhụ̀ 'bring that box!'. ó butelevà 'he has brou -ght it'. See N.B. to M.v below.

(iv) -je 'going' (= -ga) :wejéya 'take it away!' : ó wejele -ya 'he has taken it away'. (v) When íje is used alone, it dou -bles :- ó jeele ṃbà 'he has gone abroad' (ḿbà 'town, a coun -try').

(vi) -de = -do 'put away': íjì -dè 'arresting' : é jìdélé nwóke à 'this man has been apprehended'. See (x) below.

(vii) -gide :- íkpùgìdè e.g. ó kpugidele òkpù 'he has put on his hat (òkpú) tightly'.

(viii) -we (used after vow- -els of both Groups 1 and 2) = -wa (only used after Group 2) (begin to' :- bidó ọ́·rụ· rụ·wá 'set to work!'. íru 'reaching ' : ó ruwele (=ó ruwala) elekere anyà àtọ̀ 'it's nearly 3 o'clock'.

(ix) -we 'become accustomed to' : ọ́ ngụwerele anwụ̀·rụ̀·.'he has become accustomed to (smoking) tobacco'.

(x)é jìrì ọ̀kà dóó òkókó à ' 'skill was employed in arrang -ing these flowers' (see Page). This is an example of the fact that -de = -do is dou -bled when standing alone.

(xi) -ka (as 2nd element of

a compound' 'to exceed' : -karɨka 'to exceed'. But when ɨ́ka is used alone, it doubles :- ọ́ kaala ɩ́ka 'he has become old'.

(xii) -kwa 'again' : ímekwa 'do -ing again'. makwáya 'do it again !'; see xiv below. See M.v below.

(xiii) -kọ : -kọta 'together' : gụkọ́tá ha. nootụ 'add them to -gether!'. See M.v below.

(xiv) continued from (xii) above :- But, apart from this verb meaning 'again, also, more etc.'(ɨ́kwa III in Dictionary), the oth -er verbs ɨ́kwa (e.g. ɨkwa 'prepare, repair etc.') do double :- ji -kwáá onwegụ 'get ready!'.

(xv) ɨ́ga used alone, doubles :- ọ́ gaala 'he has gone'. When used as 2nd element of a compound, it sometimes doubles, sometimes not.

Examples where doubled

ɨ́gbọ̀gà (< ɨ́gbọ̀ 'preventing') : gbogáá ha· 'separate them!' (i.e. combatants fighting together).

Examples where not doubled

ọ́ bụụru égọm gbwalaga 'he absco -nded with my money' (ɨgbwalaga ' fleeing').

ɨ́wègà = ɨ́weje : wegáráya(=wejéréya) egọ̀ 'take the money to him! ' (if the verbs ɨ́ga, ɨ́je had been verbs which double when used as 2nd element of a compound, then they would have followed the model :- gbujíírí-mooshishi 'cut down the tree for me!'.(Page

(xvi) The -ya verbs of 8cc.i on Page 42, as seen there, revert to their original expanded vowel in the imperative (bɨaá 'come!'): th -is however, only arises when the -ere is a rising glide : whenever other monosyllabic verbs would ha -ve all their tones on the same level, then the -ya verbs retain their -ya and do not revert to - ɨa

So, ɨ́bà 'entering' : ọ́ bàrà 'he entered' : ọ́ byàrà 'he came'. ọ́ baala 'he has peeled': ọ́ byala 'he has come'. Similarly, in the THEN-tense (Page , there is no doubling :- ọ́ zụrụ ọ́kụ́kụ byá 'he bought a chicken and then came'. That is to say, in ọ́ baala, the centre vowel (-a-) is doubled, wh -ereas in ọ́ byala, the centre vo -wel is expanded (bɨala)from the outset : hence, if we said ọ́ bya -ala (standing for ọ́ bɨaala) , we should be commiting the impos -sible feat of both expanding and doubling simultaneously!

(L) Verbs lacking rising glide as well as doubling or expansion

(i) ɨ́ju 'becoming full' has it -s perfect unexpanded :- ọ́nwá e jule 'the moon is at its full' . Imperative is :- jú = juoó . As 2nd element of a compound,-ju ex -pands :- gbwajúó iko ɩ́mirì 'fi-ll the cup with water!'.

(ii) ínye 'giving' (see k.i on Page 49) : nyé 'give!'. ọ́ nyele 'he has given' : see c.v, Page 55

(iii) ɨ́.hụ· 'seeing'. hụ́· 'see !' : hụ́.ɩ́ 'see me!'. ɩ́ hụ.la 'I have seen' : ɩ́ hụ.layà 'I 've se -en him'. ọ́ hụ.laɩ́ 'he has seen me'. See ísi in (iii), Page 51.

(M) Verbs Not Expanding

(i) ɨ́gbwakwu = ɨgbwakwù (H.8h on Page 44) can either expand or not :- gbwakwúúya = gbwakwúóya = gbwákwuúya = gbwákwuóya (A.5b.iv on Page 5) 'run towards him!'.

(ii) -ghàcì does not expand: - ɨ́kwụghàci e.g. kwụ́ghací ụ́gwọm 'repay me the debt owing me!'.

(iii) ɨ́ji in the sense of 'us -ed' does not expand. The imperative uses the benefit-form (20c, Page 78) :- jirí ɩ́mirì, fụ́nyụ́ọ́ ọ́kụ 'take some water to extinguish the fire!'. perfect :- ọ́ jile egbugbu gbujie oshishi ' he has used an axe to fell the tree'.

The verbs íji = íshi 'how': 'managed to' do not expand (see Dictionary), but íshi, ísi, íji with meanings other than shown here in (iii) do expand (see Dictionary).

(iiiA) ísi 'going out' never expands. sí ŋ̀gaȧ fụ̇ọ́ọ́ 'go out of here!'. ó sile ŋ̀gaȧ fụ̇ọ́ọ́ 'he has gone out of here'(L Page 50). íkèsì > kesí-mii.hye· 'give a present'.

(iv) There are three distinct verbs SỊ. First of all ísị 'said' : this verb is only employed alone, not as 2nd element of a compound. It does not expand :- sị́ nà ị́ gààbyá 'say that you will come!'. See f.ii, Page 53.

(v) The 2nd verb is only used as final element of a compound: it means 'in regard to' and never expands :- ị́masị 'being pleasing to' (lit. 'being good (ị́ma) in regard to'(sị)): ọ́ masị-laṃ̀ 'it has pleased me'. ị́kwụsị 'halting' : kwụsị́ = kwụshị́ 'halt!'.

N.B. k.iii, xii, xiii and M.ii above (Pages 49-50) are used only as final verbs of a compound, never alone. L.iii is not used except alone.

(vi) -kwàsị̀ contains the -sị of (v) above and so, does not expand :- ínyikwàsị̀ e.g. nyíkwa-sị́ (=nyíkwasá) néélú ị̀nyị̀nyà 'mount the horse!'.

(vii) the 3rd verb is only used as final element of a compound : it means 'thoroughly' and always expands :- íbùchàsị̀ > ó bùchásị́álá 'he has become very fat'. the verb -chá also = 'thoroughly', so this intensive sense is in this example (though this is not always so in the case of -sị 'thoroughly'), expressed by two verbs of intensity

Even in -casị, the -sị sometimes the -sị of (v) above 'in regard to' : had this not been so, we should have had three successive, intensive verbs in the following example :- ị́ kacasịlaṃ̀ 'you are far better than I am'. (lit. 'you exceed (ị́ka) thoroughly (ị́ca) in regard to (sị) me'.

In ị́gụsịsị, we have -sị 'thoroughly' reduplicated :- gụsị́sị́á ánụ· 'fork all the meat out from the pot!'.

We also find reduplicated intensives -kasị :- ígbukasị e.g. gbukásị́áya 'lacerate him in a thorough-going way!'.

(viii) ị́jụ 'refusing' is only used alone : it does not expand:- nwá a jụla a·rà. 'the child has been weaned' (á·rá· 'breast'). jụ́ 'reject!' : jụ́ṃ 'reject me!'. BUT ị́jụ 'asking' : jụọ́ọ́ 'ask!'. jụọ́ṃ 'ask me!'.

(ix) ị́gwụ is used alone, not as final verb of compound. The imperative gwụ́ = gwụọ́ọ́ 'perish!'. But the perfect is not expanded:- ùdú ṃ́miri à gwụ̀là 'the rainy season is over'.

(x) ígosi 'showing' does not expand :- gosím 'show me!'.

(xi) -tụ is only used as final verb :- rụ·tụ́ ọ́·rụ· 'do a little work!' (not expanded).

(xii) -dụ́ as final verb is not expanded :- nọdụ́ àlà 'sit down!'. N.B. This does not apply to ị́dụ 'sewing'.

(xiv) ị́fụ̀ is dealt with in Addenda No. 11.

(xv) ị́dị 'being in place' : 'being in state of', except in a few cases, only stands alone : it does not expand in the perfect :- àhụ́. a dịlaṃ̀ 'I'm feeling in better health' (àhụ́· 'body'). Imperative uses benefit-form (Page) :- dịrị́ ŋ̀gaȧ écí 'be here tomorrow!'.

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(xvi) ɨbụ 'being a certain kind of person or thing'. Imperative uses benefit-form (Page) :- bụrụ́ dịm 'be my husband!' . ọ́ bụrụla dịm 'he has been my husband'.

(xvii) ɨnọ̀ 'remaining, staying' should have been (k.xvii) on Page 50, but I have placed it here, as it forms part of the trilogy ɨdɨ, ɨbụ, ɨnọ̀, all of which are substantive verbs expressing different facets of 'to be, is'.

The imperative uses the benefit-form (as does xv above) :-nọrọ́ ọ̀gaà ọ́cí 'be here tomorrow!' :'remain here tomorrow!' = dɨrɨ́ ọ̀gaà ọ́cí (xv above).

perfect is nụọ́lá :- ọ̀ nọọ́lá ọ́nwá ole ọ̀gaà 'how many months has he been here?'.

(n) See 11(a) below for perfect denoting state, condition.

(o) See Addenda 15.

11. STATE

(a) To denote a state or condition, we can use a perfect tense minus the E, A of 10jj on Page 47

Examples

ọ́gè 'time' : ọ́gèyá gaala 'it is obsolete'.

ɨbànyè 'entering' : ọ́nyá 'a wound' : ọ́shí. bànyélá níímé ọ́nyáà 'poison pervades this wound'.

ɨdà 'falling' : mụọya dáálá 'he feels discouraged' (lit. 'his spirit is tired').

(b) The STATE-form

Many verbs are used in a form which we may call the ' present-perfect' i.e. 'having become in a certain condition' : this term is an apposite suggestion emanating from my collaborator.

This form consists in using the root of a verb and connotes a state as opposed to the initiation of an act. The tone is always L , whether the original verb is H or L.

Examples

ɨdɨ (No. xv, Page 51) :- ọ́ dɨ̀ ọ̀gaà 'it is here' (N.B. ɨdɨ is more correctly used for animates , but ɨnọ̀ for inanimates : but this is rather an academic distinction than a real one).

ɨnọ̀ (No. xvii in opposite column) :- ọ́ nọ̀ ọ̀gaà 'he is here'. ọ́ dɨrɨ ọ̀gaà 'it was here'. ọ́ nọrọ̀ ọ̀gaà 'he was here'.

íbi 'living' :- ànyí bì mùùdó ' we are living in peace'. ọ́ bì nóo-fè ụzọ̀ 'he lives across the road

íbu 'carrying' : ọ́ bù íbú árọ ' he's carrying a heavy load' (árọ́' heaviness'). ọ́ bù íwé 'he has a grievance'. past tense :- ọ́ bùrù íwé 'he had a grievance'. ọ́ bụyà nííshí 'he knows it by heart'.há· bù ànyí ụzọ̀ cọ́fụtá ọ́shí· ágbè 'they are ahead of us in the discovery of gunpowder'(< an expression such as :- ọ́ bùrù-yụ́ụzọ̀ rụ́ọ́· ọ́.rụ́· 'I did the work before he did' : 'I anticipated him in doing the work').

ɨbụ (xvi in opposite column) ọ́ bụ ọ̀kèọ́ 'it is mine' (ọ̀kè 'thing'

ɨgbwa e.g. ọ́ gbwà ọ̀tọ́ 'he's naked'.

ɨhà· 'being equal to' : há. hà· ótù 'they're equal to one another ' : 'they're identical'.

ɨha. 'being of a certain size': ọ́ hà. àgháa 'how big is it?'(àghá-a 'how?').

ɨgbwà 'fixing' : ọ́ gbwà ọ́là áka 'she's wearing a bracelet'.

(c) ALTERNATIVE TONES

Some of these state-forms have alternative tones :-

(i) ɨ́ka 'exceeding' can be either H or L before noun beginning in H tone or before the monosyllabic suffixed personal pronouns . Examples are :-

ọ́ kaṃ ṃma = ọ́ kàṃ́ ṃ́ma 'he is be-tter than I am'. úcèyá ka ogèyá =úcèyá kà ógèyá 'his thoughts are ahead of the time at which he lives' : 'he was born before his time'. See further on this matter ị́ka in Dictionary: (iv) below.

(ii) See ị́bụ (xvi on Page 52) in Dictionary. (iii) ị́sị 'said' see (f) below.

(iv) add to (i) above :- ṃ́ kaya akalaka = ṃ́ kàyá ákáláká 'I am taller than he is'.

(d) STATE-FORMS OF COMPOUND VERBS

íbù 'is fat' : ó bùcà nà í·hyé·sogburuṃ̀ 'it is aggravating my trouble'. ṇ̀kaá dịtụ́ ícè 'this is slightly different'.

(e) STATE-FORM : HABITUAL

(i) Some state-forms have in addition to their ordinary meanings, habitual sense : the normal habitual (Page 38) is also an alternative.

Examples

ànyị́ bìkọ̀ = ànyị́ bìkọ̀tà 'we live together' = ànyị́ nèèbíkọ́ (For -kọ see (xiii), Page 50).

ànyị́ jì ṇ́kụ́ àkwá ọ́kụ = ànyị́ nèè-jí ṇ́kụ́ àkwá ọ́kụ 'we use firewood for making fires'.

(ii) But some state-forms use the normal habitual :- ọ́ nààgbwá ọtọ 'he goes about naked'(but see ị́gbwa in 11(b), Page 52).

ọ́ nèèbú íbú árọ 'he carries heavy loads' (but see íbu in 11(b), Page 52).

(f) STATE-Form IN PAST SENSE

(i) In English, we have the historical present, whereby events which happened in the past are in speech, dramatically transferred to the present tense, to create the impression that they are happening before our eyes. So, in Matthew 26-70, we find 'saith' in the sense of 'said' :- 'But he denied before them all saying, I know not what thou sayest'.

Similarly, in uneducated talk, such usage as the following is often heard :- 'then she says to me 'you mind your own business!' , so I says to her 'look who's talking!'.

We have the same transfer of the state-forms in Ibo, to express a past event connoting state into the state-form of the present i.e. the forms shown above.

Examples (ii) : past tense can be substituted

ṃ̀gbè ṃ́ nọ̀ nà nwá^tà = ṃ̀gbè ṃ́ nọ̀rọ̀ nà nwá^tà 'when I was in my childhood' = ṃ̀gbè ṃ́ bụ̀ nwá^ṇ́tà = ṃ̀gbè ṃ́ bụ̀rụ̀ nwá^ṇ́tà .

ṃ́ jì íwé mééya = ṃ́ jìrì íwé mé-éya 'I did it in anger' (lit.'I used anger and then did it'); íji see (iii), Page 50.

ísi (iiiA, Page 51) : ó sì ọ̀nọ̀-cà lọ́tá = ó sìrì ọ̀nụ̀cà lọ́tá 'he left Onitsha and returned home'.

ị́sị (iv, Page 51) :- ị́ sị̀ nà ị́ gààbyá = ị́ sị̀rị̀ nà ị́ gààbyá = (11c.iii in opposite column) ị́ sị nả ị́ gààbyá 'you said that you would come'.

(iii) In the case of ínwe 'possess' : 'get, obtain', this verb combining the senses of state ('being in possession of') and action('gaining possession of', 'obtaining'), there is a distinction between the historical use of the state-form and the past tense :-

ónyé nwere egò zụ̈rụ̈ é·hí· 'the moneyed person bought a cow'(lit. 'the person who had acquired wealth'*). * 'wealth' indefinite.

ónyé nwe egò zụ̈rụ̈ é·hí· 'the person who had the funds requisite for that purpose* bought a cow' . *'the funds requisite'definite = 'the specific sum required'. See Addenda 22.

(g) IMPERSONAL STATE

íbìnyè 'lending' : ǫ́ sì̧ mṳ́ bìnyéya nwa ṇ-tı̧-ṇ-tı̧ egò, mà á màṃ̀ nà (=mà á mààràṃ̀ nà) ṇ̀kàáhù̧. bù̧ ḿbídó (ı) 'he asked me to lend him a little money, but I knew that this was just the beginning'. (ıı) 'he asked me to give him a small loan, but I know this is me-rely the beginning (of his demands)'.

(h) EFFECT ON FOLLOWING WORD

The form of state has no influence in changing the tone of the nest word'.

Examples

ǫ́ gbwà ǫ̀tǫ́ 'he is naked' (11b on Page 52): compare 11(e)ıı on Page 53 :- ǫ́ nààgbwá ǫ̀tǫ 'he goes about naked'.

ó bù íwé 'he bears resentment' (11e on Page 53).

ànyí̧ jì ṇ́kṳ́ àkwá ǫ́kṳ (11e on Page 53) 'we use firewood for making fires'. N.B. There is no doubling or expansion in state-forms.

(j) PAST USED FOR STATE

Sometimes, the past translates state :- í̧rṳ 'being wicked' : àhṳ́. rùrṳ̀yá 'his body is deformed' (lit. 'the body was permanently bad as to him'.

í̧hṳ.rı̧ta 'seeing one another' : há. hṳ̀.rı̧̀tàrà ònwéha. naanya 'they love one another' (lit. 'they loved each other (in a way certain to last for ever,and so, they still do')

12. Suffixed Personal Pronouns

(a) -Ṃ 'me'. -GI̧ 'you'. -YA 'him, her, it'. -HA· 'them'. These are the monosyllabic suffixed objective pronouns for verbs.

(b) (ı) These suffixesbecome what is called polarised, for after L to-ne at end of verb, they have H tone. (ıı) But after H tone, they are mid.

Examples of (ı)

í̧.hṳ. 'seeing' : ǫ́ hṳ̀.rṳ̀.ḿ 'he saw me'. í̧zṳ̀ 'tending': ǫ́ zṳ̀rṳ̀gí̧ 'he brought you up'. ó shìrìyá 'he cooked it'. ísè 'pulling' : í sèrè há· 'you pulled them'. wéfṳ̀yá 'remove it!

Examples of (ıı)

nyé 'give!' (ıı on Page 50) : nyéṃ 'give me!'. ḿ gèènyégı̧ 'I shall give you'. nyéya 'give her (it)!'. nyé ha· 'give them (it)!'.

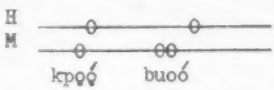
gbujíéya 'cut it (i.e. tree) down!'. fṳnyíǫ́ya 'extinguish it!' (i.e. fire).

Example of (ı) in impersonal

ḿ tṳfṳ̀rṳ̀yá = á tṳfṳ̀rṳ̀ṃ yá(3f, Page 37) 'I threw it away'.

(c) Imperative + suffixes

(ı) In 8c.ı (Page 42), we have two kinds of formation, (A) kpǫǫ́ 'call!' where we have rising glide : (b) buoó 'carry!' where we have M followed by rising glide :-



(ıı) In case (A), the stress rests on the first ǫ and remains there when the imperative is followed by a suffix beginning in a consonant :- kpǫǫ́ya 'call him!' : kpǫǫ́ ha· 'call them!'. meé 'do!' : meéya 'do it!' : cǫǫ́ 'look for!' : cǫǫ́ya 'look for it!' : gwaá 'mix!':gwaáya 'mix it!'.

(ııı) But when the imperative is followed by -ṃ (syllabic sound and quasi-vowel), then the rising glide vanishes from the examples above, for we have in kpǫǫ́ṃ, vowel + vowel + syllabic ṃ, with the result that instead of the stressed 1st ǫ of the rising glide ǫǫ́ (in kpǫǫ́) , we now have stressed 2nd ǫ́ (in

kpọọ́ọ̄m̩) where ọ́ forms the pivot of the falling glide ọ́m̩ and so now bears the stress. See Addenda 14.

(iv) In case (B) i.e. where we have expansion (buoó), the stressed 2nd vowel i.e. 1st o of buoó, vanishes leaving us with vowels M + H uó where the u is stressed in :- buóya 'carry it':buó ha· 'carry them!'. But, suffixed -m̩ has the same effect as kpọọ́m̩ in stressing the o in buóm̩ 'carry me!'.

(v) As imperative of ínye is nyé = nyeé (10L.ii, Page 50), we have imperative :- nyém̩ = (less usually) nyeém̩ 'give me!'.

(vi) Other verbs allow two forms in their imperative + suffix:- kpọọ́ 'call!' : kpọọ́m̩ = kpọ́m̩ 'call me!'. kpọọ́ya = kpọ́ya 'call him!' . kpọọ́ ha· = kpọ́ ha· 'call them!' . ceé 'guard!', 'await!' : ceé-mii·hu· = cé-mii·hu· 'face towards me!'.

(d) Doubled vowel + suffixes

In the THEN-tense, we shall meet such forms as the following which have doubled final vowels on the same tone-level:- cọ́ọ́ '..... then looked for...'. ñáá '..... then stretched out...'.

When + suffix, such words retain both vowels, the 2ndbeing stressed as it is the pivot of a suffixed -m̩: if however, the suffix is -ya, ha·, then both final vowels retain equal stress.

Examples

ḿ̩ gààbyá mìị́ cọ́ọ́m̩ 'I'll come if you wish me to'.

ó kwèsìrì kìị́ ñáám̩ ṇtị 'it is right that you should obey me' (ṇ́tì 'ear').

(e) Before dúm̩ , níile, the suffix ha· 'them' is H :- tụọ́ há· dúm̩ m̩kpọ́rọ́ = tụọ́ há· níile m̩kpọ́-rọ́ 'throw them all into prison!

(f) (i) ànyị́ = ányì 'us' : únù 'you' (plural) are nouns and suffer the same tone-changes as any other nouns :-

Examples

Past tense :- ọ́ hụ̀·rụ̀· ànyị́ = ọ́ hụ̀·rụ̀· ányì 'he saw us'. há· hụ̀·rụ̀· únù 'they saw you people'

imperative :- nyé anyị = nyé ányì 'give us (it)!'.

future :- únù gèènyé anyị= únù gèènyé ányì 'you people will give us'. ànyị́ (=ányì) gèènyé únù 'we'll give you folk (it)'.

(ii) únù, ànyị́=ányì are used for the disjunctive pronouns i.e. those used alone and emphatically or used emphatically as noun-subjects . The forms for the disjunctives of the other persons are :- mụ́ : gị́ : yá : há. There are no emphatic forms for the impersonal E, A.

Examples

mụ́ nà yá 'he and I'. mụ́ nà gị́ 'you and I' (note that Ibo, unlike English) places 'I' first) .

ọ́ bụ̀ mụ́ shìrìyá = ọ́ bụ̀ḿ̩ shìrìyá 'I was I who cooked it'.

(g)-M TONE + PRONOUN-OBJECT

After an affirmative tense ending in M tone (e.g. the perfect), the monosyllabic suffixes are one tone below M : ànyị́ is treated as in (f.i) at head of this column :-

Examples

ó shieleyà 'he has cooked it'.
ó buole ànyì = ó buole anyị 'he has carried us'.

(h) NEGATIVE TENSES + PRONOUN

See Page

(j) VN + PRONOUN-OBJECT

(i) VN 1 of H verb ends in M and adds the monosyllabic suffixes with M tone also :- íme 'doing' : ímeya 'doing it'. íle 'looking' : íle-maanya 'looking at me': the fact that these HM

words do not follow the model of a HM noun(like égo 'money', égóm̩ 'my money') is due to the fact th-at VN 1 is not a true noun, but half a noun and half a verb (as explained in 4c on Page 38).

(ii) When VN 1 of a H verb is + ànyɨ=ányɨ , we have the following alternatives :- ɨ·hụ· ànyɨ = ɨ.hụ· anyɨ = ɨ·hụ· anyɨ 'the seeing us' . The last alternative is because we in some instances find ányɨ (e.g.

(iii) VN 1 of a L verb, though no more of a true noun than H VN, yet follows the model of 1d.i on Page 25, though ímeya in (i) above did not follow the model of égo (1e on Page 25). So, examples of VN 1 of L verb + monosyllabic suffixes are :-

ọ́ jụ̀rụ̀ íwèm̩ 'he refused to take me' (lit. 'he refused the taking me').
ọ́ cọ̀rò ɨfụ̀nyụ̀yá 'he wanted to extinguish it'.

(iv) VN 1 + ànyɨ=ányɨ :- ílì àn-yɨ = ílì ányɨ 'the burying us' .
(v)A VN cannot affect the to-ne of únù :- ílì únù 'the burying you people'. (ii above) ɨ·h-ụ· umú 'the seeing you folk'.

(k) INFLUENCE OF PRONOUN-OBJECT ON FOLLOWING WORD.

The insertion of a suffixed pro-noun-object acts as a buffer pre-venting the influence of a previous verb exerting itself on a no-un-object :-

Examples
ɨkwado 'preparing' : ụ̀lá 'depar-ture' : m̩ kwadoole ụ̀là 'I'm ready to leave' (where by 5f on Page 15, ụ̀lá > ụ̀là) = (impersonal) á kwadoole-mụ̀ụ̀lá .

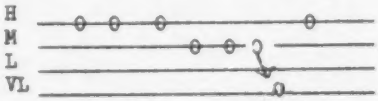
ọ̀kpọ́ 'a rap on the head'. há· nàkụ́ ọkpọ 'they're boxing'. ọ́ kụ̀-rụ̀-mụ̀ọ̀kpọ́ 'he rapped me on the head'

(L) PRONOUN-OBJECT M TONE OR ONE TONE LOWER

(i) When a monosyllabic pronoun-object has mid tone and is followed by a noun whose 1st syl-lable is low (before any switch-ing occurs), then we have a tone falling from mid to very low: - starting from ọ́ nàmárám̩ àtụ̀-tụ̀, this rule > ọ́ nàmárá-maàtụ̀tụ̀ 'he is giving me an example'.

Examples
m̩ nághɨ ànụ́· 'I am not seeing' (Page). If we use its impersonal form, we start with :- à nághɨm̩ ànụ́· which by the rule given, > à nághɨ-maànụ́ ọ̀tè áká ' I cannot see far' i.e. 'I'm short-sighted'.

ípu 'piercing' . We start with í.hyé· ọ́ pughuya ànụ́· (lit. 'nothing has pierced him in regard to the body') 'he's thick-skinned' i.e. 'he has so high an opin-ion of himself that he doesn't even know when he's being insult-ed'. By the rule given, the above words > í·hyé· ọ́ pughu-yaànụ́·



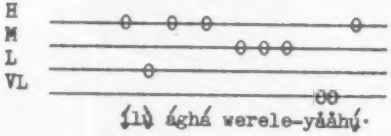
í·hyé· ọ́ pughu-yaànụ́·

(ii) But when a monosyllabic -pronoun-object has a tone one st-ep lower than the M tone of the final syllable of the preceding verb and this pronoun-object is followed by a noun whose 1st syl-lable is L by nature (before an-y required switching takes place), then the suffixed pronoun is switched down to the same tone as the next word.

Examples
In (k) in the opposite column, we see :- m̩ kwadoole ụ̀là whose impersonal form is shown in (gg) on Page 47. This sentence is ar-rived at by our beginning with :- á kwadoolem̩ ụ̀lá : by the rule given, this becomes :- á kwadoo

-le-mụ̀ụ̀lá 'I am ready to set out'

Starting with :- ị́lụ̀ ághá wereleyà ähụ́· (k.ix on Page 49), we get :- ị́lụ̀ ághá werele-yååhụ́· 'he is skilled in war'.



(m) TWO PRONOUN-OBJECTS

When we have monosyllabic - indirect object + monosyllabic direct object, then the direct object is M after M indirect object and H after L indirect object :-

Examples

ị́gwata 'telling to person' : ḿ gwàtàràyà yá 'I told it (yá) to him' : 'I told him it'. N.B. The 2nd (direct object) when as here, there is also a direct object, is a disjunctive pronoun (12f.ii on Page 55).

ọ́ gwàtàràm̀ yá 'he told me it' .
ọ́ gàrà wètérém̀ ya 'he went and fetched it for me'.
(impersonal) à nọ́ghìm̀ yá m̀gbè ọ́ byàrà 'I was not there when he came'.

(n) THE WORD NA

(i) NA is an enclitic word i.e. a word having no tone of its own : it means 'in, on'. (ii) It takes the tone of the initial vowel or syllabic sound of the next word.

Examples of NA followed by vowel

ụ́lọ̀ 'house' : ọ́ dị̀ nụ́ụ́lọ̀ 'it is in the house'. ọ́ nọ̀ nòòbòdò 'he is in the town'.

Examples where followed by syllabic m̀ , ǹ :- ná m̀bà 'in the town'. nà ǹgụ̀gụ́ 'on a skewer'. é sile na ǹdọgbu dọfụ̀tá íshiya 'he has been reprieved from hanging' (ísi ,,see iii.A on Page 51 : ị́dọfụ̀tå 'pulling out').

(iii) In the rare case of NA standing before a consonant, it has L tone.

Examples

ḿ hụ̀·rụ̀·yá nà fòtó áhụ̀· 'I saw him on that photograph'. ùgbú à ọ́ nọ̀ nà cụ́ọ̀cị̀ 'at the moment, he is in church'.

(iv) Notice that after NA, we have one or two irregularities:- íme 'the inside' (noun) : íméya 'its interior' (agreeing with E. le.i, Page 25) BUT when followed by suffixed pronoun, we have níí-meya 'inside it' e.g. ọ́ wụbårå níímeya 'he jumped into it' (not agreeing with Page 25). Again, when + noun, we have :- ọ́ dị̀ níímé ụ́lọ̀ 'it's in the house' . As adverb :- ọ́ dị̀ nííme 'it is inside'.

ọ́nụ́· 'mouth' : (adverbially) nọ́ọ́-nụ· 'in the mouth' e.g. ákwa å kårå úhyé nọ́ọ́nụ· 'this cloth has a red border' (íke 'tying' :úhyé 'redness').

(o) TONE OF PRONOUN OBJECT BEFORE FOLLOWING NOUN.

(i) As we saw in 12b.i on Page 54 and 12g on Page 55, the pronoun-suffixes are polarised into a tone which is the reverse of that of the preceding vowel, so final L has H suffix : final H has M suffix : final M has suffix 1 tone lower (12g, Page 55 : perfect).

(ii) We see in (m) in the opposite column that this also applies to two pronoun-objects except in the case of H verb + M suffix : the latter exception also applies when the M suffix is switched to L after final M syllable of verb :-

Examples

é nyele-m̀ yà 'it has been given me'. nyém̀ ya 'give it to me!'

(iii) polarisation also occurs in the future, continuous and present :- ḿ gèèshíya 'I shall cook it'. ḿ nèshíya 'I'm cooking it'.

(iv) It will be noticed that

on Page 25 also. we have polarisation in :- ụ́lọ̀ > ụ́lọ̀ḿ . áká > ákáṃ . égo > égóṃ . But, not for M 3-syllable ṇ́kịtaṃ .

(v) There is no polarisation in the case of VN 1 (12j on Page 55), or in negatived verbs(Page

(vi) So far, except to explain the tones applying where we find two pronoun-objects, we have dealt only with the suffixes when used without other words dependent on them and we have seen that in the aspect dealt with, they are, for the most part, polarised. We shall now see what happens to pronoun-suffixes used with words following them.

(p) PRONOUN-OBJECT + INITIAL CONSONANT

In this case where followed by a noun beginning in a consonant, a pronoun-suffix takes a tone opposite to that of the 1st syllable of such noun

Examples (i)

ó sèrèḿ fòtó 'he took a photo of me'. ó nyèrèṃ tìì 'he gave me some tea'. ḿ hụ̀·rụ̀·yá nà fòtó áhụ̀· 'I saw him on that photo'(n.iii on Page 57). See (r) below.

N.B. The above rule for noun with initial consonant does not apply to suffixed pronoun with initial consonant, this being treated as shown in (m), Page 57.

(ii) Adverbs beginning in a consonant are treated in the same way as the nouns in p.i above :- í·hyé· gbwàràyà kpọ́ḿ-kpọ́ḿ 'it is dotted, speckled' (ịgbwa 'shooting'). See the adverbs of q.ii below.

(q) PRONOUN-OBJECTS + INITIAL SYLLABIC ṃ- , ṇ-

(i) In this case, the pronoun-objects takes the tone of the syllabic ṃ- , ṇ-.

Examples

íti 'hitting' : ḿkpú 'shouting' : ó tìrìḿ ḿkpú nííshí 'he scolded me' = ọ́ bààràṃ ṃbá (ịba 'peeling'.

ọ́ hụ̀·rụ̀·ṃ̀ (p.i above) ná ḿbà ' he saw me in the town'.

ḿ hụ̀·rụ̀·yá nà ṇ̀gụ̀gụ́ 'I saw it (meat, fish) on a skewer' (p.i above for -yá).

(ii) Like the adverbs of p.ii above, the pronoun-object has its tone opposite to that of an adverb beginning with syllabic ṃ-, -ṇ

Examples

ó bèrèyà ṇ́kéṇké 'he cut it up small'.

ọ́ mààràyá ṇ̀kọ̀ọ́má 'he knows it well' = 'he knew it well'.

(r) Add to p.i in opposite column :- ḿ dụbàràyà ná ógwú = ḿ dụbàràyà nóógwú 'I impaled it on a skewer'. (rr) See Addenda 18.

(s) PRONOUN-OBJECTS IN IMPERSONAL

We saw that in the impersonal past (3f on Page 37) only the pronoun-suffixes for 'me' and 'them' (-ṃ : hà·) may be used and that these suffixes have L tone. The same applied to the impersonal present (6e on Page 41) and the impersonal futures (9d, 9f on Page 46). See (13 (e)

We also saw in 3fiv (Page 37) that if the sentence is active, the pronoun-suffixes follow the rule in 12q at the head of this column: - ó shìlìrìḿ ṇ́rí 'people cooked food for me'.

(t) PRONOUN-OBJECTS + VOWEL

(i) The monosyllabic pronoun-objects (except HA· 'they'), no matter what their tone, in normal fast speech, cease to form an independent syllable when they stand before an object which has initial VOWEL.

(ii) They then lose their tone and become merged with their object into a single syllable : concurrently, the vowel of the initial syllable of the object becomes do

-ubled, for the assumed form ɨ́yá etc. (5c on Page 27) +(for example)the initial a- of áká 'hand' must double by the principle mentioned in 2b on Page 1. Thus :- ḿ kụ̀rụ̀yá áká > ḿ kụ̀rụ̀-yááká 'I hit him with my hand'.

(iii) When the suffixed pronoun is -Ṃ, this loses its syllabic quality and becomes a consonant.

Examples

ǫ́ kụ̀rụ̀-mááká = (in slow, deliberate speech) ǫ́ kụ̀rụ̀ḿ áká 'he hit me': see 5e.ii, Page 27.

ǫ́ kụ̀rụ̀-gááká = (in deliberate speech) ǫ́ kụ̀rụ̀gɨ́ áká 'he hit you'. íkpé 'lawsuit' : ó kpèrè-gíí-kpé 'he (judge) gave judgement on your case'.

ǫ́ kụ̀rụ̀-háá·ká 'he hit them' .
But :- (suffixes not monosyllabic) ǫ́ kụ̀rụ̀ ànyɨ́ áká = ǫ kụ̀rụ̀ ányɨ̀ áká 'he hit us'. ǫ́ kụ̀rụ̀ únù áká 'he hit you people'.

àhụ́· 'body' : ɨ́nwụ· 'clutching' : (examples of -Ṃ) ǫ́ nwụ̀·rụ̀·-mààhụ́· 'it startled me'. ụ́kà 'a quarrel' : ǫ́ cọ̀rọ̀-mụ́ụ́kà 'he picked a quarrel with me'. ɨ́ cọ̀rọ̀-yụ́ụ́kà 'you picked a quarrel with her'.

ǫ́ byàrà nyé-meegò 'he came and gave me money' (see THEN, page : also L.ii, Page 50). á kpasulemiiwe 'don't drive me to anger!'(Page

(iv) HA· 'they' (see example above) retains H tone, even before noun-object beginning in L vowel:-

Examples

ḿ nyèrè há· àkpàá ji 'I gave them a bag of yams'. íri 'eating' : àzụ́· 'the back' : ó rìrì há. àz-ụ́· 'he bribed them'. ǫ́ lụsòrò há· ọ̀gụ̀ 'he struggled with them'

13. L VERB + PRONOUN-OBJECT.

(a) The following procedure applies to verbs whose present continuous ends in L tone.

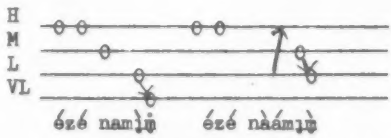
(i) When a L monosyllabic verb (2e.iii, 2e.iv on Page 34) used in the present habitual, present continuous or future is followed by a monosyllabic pronoun-object, then the L syllable of the verb becomes M after nàá, nèé , gàá , gèé : so, ḿ nàázà (foot of page 38 > ḿ nàáza . ǫ́ nèésè (Page 39) > ǫ́ nèése . ǫ́ gàázà (Page 45) > ǫ́ gàáza . únù gèésè (foot Page 45) > únù gèése .

(ii) After M na, the verb is one tone below na, instead of two tones. Thus :- present, ɨ́ nazá (6b.ii, Page 40) > ɨ́ nazà . há· nesè (6b.iv, Page 40) > há· nesè .

(iii) Examples

verb ɨ́tà :- áfǫ́ natàḿ 'my stomach is acheing me'. verb ɨ́mɨ̀ 'sucking' : éze 'tooth' : ézé namɨ̀ḿ ' my tooth is acheing' : ézé nàámɨ̀ḿ 'I often have toothache'.

verb ɨ́wụ̀ 'jumping' : árá nawụ̀yà 'he is mad'. árá nawụ̀gɨ 'you are mad'.



(iv) The verb-types íwefụ̀ ,ígbubi (2f.iii, iv Page 34-35), provided they are not longer than the forms íwefụ̀ , ígbubi (i.e. prefix + 2 verbs) conform to the provisions of 13(a) above, and are therefore treated identically with L mo-osyllables in the tenses quoted in 13a.i above. So also, the íwefụ̀ type (NOT ígbubi type) in its

imperative (wéfụ̀), again with the proviso that this imperative is restricted to two syllables.

Examples
ọ́ nèwéfụyà 'he's removing it'. ọ́ gèèwéfụgị̀ 'he'll remove you'. ọ́ nèwéfụm̀ 'he'll remove me'. wéfụm̀ 'remove me!'.

(v) The three tenses mentioned in 13a.i (Page 59) are formed from VN 2(èwéfụ̀) : therefore since ọ́ nèwéfụ̀ contains èwéfụ̀ , what holds good for ọ́ nèwéfụ̀ must also hold good for èwéfụ̀ . The result of this is that any VN 2 ending in L tone behaves like ọ́ nèwéfụm̀ . Thus :- ḭmụ̀ VN 1, ámụ̀ VN 2 : ọ́ mààrà ámụyà 'he can learn it'.

(b) L VERB + PRONOUN-OBJECT + 2nd object

We saw in (k) on Page 56 that pronoun-suffix prevents the tenses mentioned in 13(a)i above (all of which are tenses affecting the tone of the following noun) from reacting on the following noun :-

Examples
ímesi ọ̀kaá gèénweyà ìzú 'the completion of this will take him a week'.

ḭnafụ̀ 'receiving thing from person' (imperative :- náfụ̀) : náfụm̀ 'receive from me!'. náfụmọ̀ọ̀rụ̀· ä 'take over this work from me!'.

ḭzụ̀ 'tending' : ọ́ nàázụm̀ ọ̀rì ' 'he provides me with food'.

íkpè 'being hot' : àhụ́· nekpèm̀ > àhụ́· nekpè-mọ̀ọ̀kụ́ 'I feel hot'.

(c) Noun with initial L syllable. We are here subject to the rule in 5e (Page 15) :-

Examples
ọ̀gaá 'here' : ọ́ nàánọ ọ̀gàä 'he is often here'. See 13f.

ọ̀kà 'art' : ọ́ namụ̀ ọ̀kä 'he's studying art'.

ọ́ nàámị̀ m̀mìrì 'he sucks water'(for míri < ìmíri : C.1b, Page 17 : but, míri á·ra· 'milk'(lit. 'water of the breast') in the example below is H 1st syllable, as seen from the fact that it is devoid of the initial syllabic m̀- which is the representative of the lost M tone explained in 5a, Page 19 . On the other hand, ọ́ nàámị̀ m̀mìrì has m̀ , showing that we started from ọ́ nàámị̀ ìmíri .

(d) L verb + LH, LHL.

ànyị́ 'us' : áfọ́ natà ànyị́ 'we have stomach-ache' (5f.vii on Page 15).

m̀fé 'lightness' : ḭwụ̀ 'jumping' : ḭnyḭnyà áhụ̀· nàáwụ m̀fè 'that horse is bucking'.

íkwọfụ̀ VN 1 (VN 2 'sailing away' àkwọ́fụ̀) : ụ́gbọ́ à nàkwọ́fụ àkwọ̀fụ̀ 'this ship is outward bound'.

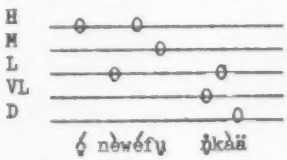
madụ̀ (< original ḭmadụ̀ : 13c on Page 23) :- íleli 'despising' : ọ́ nèèléli màdụ̀ 'he is a snob'. See 13h, Page 61.

íjijè 'imitating' : ọ́ nèjíje ànyị́ 'he's imitating us'.

íkpufụ̀ ọ̀kpú 'taking off one's hat' : kpúfụ ọ̀kpùgị̀ 'take off your hat!'. See Addenda 17

(e) Add at end of 1st paragraph of (s) on Page 58 :- é cèrèm̀ nà há· dị̀ àtọ́ 'I thought there were three of them'. á cọ̀rọ̀m̀ yá 'it is needed by me'.

(f) Add to 13c at top of this column :- ọ́ nèwéfụ ọ̀kàä 'he is removing this'.



(g) Before a noun with initial H tone, the verb retains

its original tones :-

Examples

árá 'madness' : ọ́ nàáwụ̀ ára 'he is mad' (ị́wụ̀ 'jumping on to').

ṃnyò 'mirror' : ịbù 'fattening' : ṃnyo ȧ nèébù í·hye· 'this gl-ass magnifies objects'.

wéfụ̀ égo 'remove the money!' .

ọ́ nabọ̀ ánụ· 'he is cutting up the carcase'. But, ọ́ nabọ̀yȧ 'he's cutting it up'(13a.ii on 59)

ọ́ nàá mị̀ mírí á·ra· (13c, Page 60) 'he sucks milk'.

ráfụ̀ í·hyé· gara àgà ka há· gáá 'leave things which have gone by to disappear!' i.e. 'let bygones be bygones!'.

(h) (i) Add to 4th example in 13d, Page 60 :- ị́ghọ̀ 'deceiving': ọ́ naghọ̀ mȧdū 'he tricks people'. (ii) Add further example :- ị́gbwa-fụ̀ > gbwáfụ ànọ̀· 'deduct four!'(ànọ́· 'four').

(j) For 'state' with suffixes, see 11c on Page 52.

(k) We saw in (j.i) on Page 56 that VN 1 + suffix is not treated like a noun such as égo (which > égóṃ), for hightoned VN such as íme > ímeya .

(ii) I mentioned in 4c.ii on Page 38 that VN 2, in so far as its effect on the tone of the next word is concerned, acts like any ordinary noun e.g. ọ́ nèrí ṅri 'he is eating food (ṅrí).

(iii) Further, we have just seen in 13a.iv, 13a.v that the VN 2 èwéfụ̀ changes to LHM when used as part of the continuous in :-ọ́ nèwéfụyà 'he'll remove it'. This has nothing in common with the tones of a LHL ordinary noun, for ọ̀kụ́kụ̀ becomes ọ̀kụ́kụ̀ṃ́ (E.1d on Page 25).

(iv) It must therefore be realised that both VN 1 and VN 2 have features distinguishing them from other nouns.

(v) To a certain extent, VN 2 does act exactly in step with ordinary nouns i.e. in 13c on Page 60 , for if a noun took the place of VN 2 in ọ́ namụ̀ ṅkä, we could have úrù 'value' : úru ṅkà 'the value of art'. The same fact applies to 13d, 13g, Page 60 : here, áfọ́ natà ȧnyị̀ is paralleled by :- ṃ́bà 'town' : ṃ́ba ànyị̀ 'our town'. wéfụ̀ égo is on all fours with úrù égo 'the benefit of money'.

(vi) The point of divergence , where VN 2 differs utterly from ordinary nouns, is in a case such as 13a.iii (Page 59) áfọ́ natàṃ̀ .

(vii) We saw in (k), Page 56 that the suffixed pronouns form a buffer preventing the word preceding them from affecting the tone of the word following them, that is to say, cushioning off the 1st and 3rd words from coming into contact.

(viii) The situation represented by áfọ́ natàṃ̀ must be regarded as an exception to (k), Page 56. The only workable hypothesis is that we here have a case like that of 5e.iii, page 27 where we have returned to the 2-syllable prototype ỊMỤ, but now with low + high tones instead of HH tones as mentioned in Addenda 16 : so, we have for VN 2 :- ị̀mụ́ etc instead of the ị́mụ́, ị́yá etc. forms used on Page 25 with nouns.

(ix) Hence, if we have VN2 átà + ị̀mụ́ , we have HLLH of 5f.vii , Page 15, and ọ́ natȧ ị̀mụ́ > ọ́ natàṃ̀ .

14. WHILE

(a) habitual sense. (i) same pro-noun-subject in clauses 1,2

A. H verb in clause 2) ọ́ nèèjí égbúgbú,nèè-gbújí* óshíshí =
) ọ́ nèé wè égbúgbú,nèè gbújí* óshíshí =
) ọ́ nèéjì égbúgbú etc.

'he uses an axe while felling

a tree'. N.B. In the 3rd alternative, we have ọ́ nèéjì for íjı 'using' sometimes is treated as íjì .

* néègbújí can be abbreviated into è gbújí .

L verb) ọ́ nèèjí (etc. as in A. above) íkè, náanọ̀ ọ́dụ̀ * 'one uses ones buttocks for sitting on'
B. in clause 2 = íkè kèé jì, náa nọ̀* ọ́dụ̀ 'it is one's buttocks that one uses whilst seated'.

* short form of náanọ̀ = á nọ̀

(ii) We can also use 'while' in both clauses 1 and 2 :- ébé 'place' : ọ̀bụ̀là 'no matter which' : ífe 'flying' : ébé ọ̀bụ̀là ọ́ nèèfé náàgá , ànyị̀ náà tụ́ya ọ̀kúmè (lit. 'where-ever it flies while going, then it is while we pelt (ịtụ) it with st-ones') 'we pelt it with stones no matter where it flies'.

(iii) We use néè etc. before Group 1 vowels, but náà etc. before Group 2 vowels, as seen in the examples.

(b) habitual sense. noun in clause 1 pronoun-subject referring back to noun-subject of clause 1.

H verb in clause 1: L verb in clause 2.) ífụ̀ 'blowing' : òké nèèrí, náafụ̀ ọ́nụ· = òké néèrí, ọ̀ náafụ̀ ọ́nụ· (2nd alternative follows (ii) above i.e. 'while a rat eats is while it blows') 'a rat blows while eating'. See Addenda 21.

(c) habitual sense. different noun-subject in each clause.

H verb in clause 1: L verb in clause 2.) After the noun of clause 2 (NOT after the noun of clause 1), the E, A after the noun-subject is optional .

òké néèrí, ọ́wú a naàfụ̀ (=ọ́wú náa-fụ̀) ọ́nụ· 'while the rat eats , the goat always puffs'.(lit.'while the rat.....is while the goat...'.

òké néèrí, ọ̀gwèrè à náàkpụ́ nàà là = òké néèrí,ọ̀gwèrè náàkpụ́ nàà-là 'while the rat eats, the goat always puffs'.

(d) the state-form is sometimes used in the 1st clause :- éj-ùlà jì íré ọ́má náàgá (= à gá) nóógwú (lit. 'a snail makes care use of its tongue while passing over a thorn') 'it is always wise to show politeness'.

(e) same noun in both clauses.

ànyị̀ nèèzífụ̀ únyı icekwu, néègólátá ógho = ànyị̀ néèzífụ̀ únyı icekwu. ànyị̀ à néègólátá (= ànyị̀ néègólátá) ógho 'we export coal and import cotton'.

(f) different pronoun-subjects in each clause :- ḿ nèèzífụ̀ únyı icekwu, ọ̀ néègólátá ógho etc. 'I export coal. whereas he imports cotton'. See Addenda 21.

(g) PRESENT SENSE

(i) same pronoun-subject in both clauses

há· jì ònwéha· aka,naàgá 'they are holding each other's hand as they go along'.

ọ́ jì égbúgbú (=ọ́ wèèrè ègbúgbú), néègbújí ọ́shishí 'he's cutting down the tree with an axe'.

ọ́ jì ákwà, náafụ̀nyụ́ ọ́kụ 'he's extinguishing the fire with a cl-oth'.

há· nèrí, náàmụ́ 'they're eating and drinking'.

ọ̀ọ̀ nwá^tà nwáànyị̀ ónvé ọ̀kà ésè-mèsè nèlé ánya neèsẽ ụ̀dị̀^ nwáànyị̀ 'she is a girl whom artists look at while drawing a female figure' i.e. 'she's an artist's model' (for ụ̀dị̀ 'form', see Dictionary in regard to it not becoming neèsẽ ụ̀dị̀ and also Adden-da 17)(ésèmèsè 'sketching': íle anya 'looking at').

(ii) noun-subject in 1st clause with same subject understood in

2nd clause

ọ́dáágha nàázọ̀ íjè, náàgá 'the sol-diers are marching along'.

(iii) 'in such a way that' see

(h) 'THE MORE THAT.....THE MORE..

Here again, we have habitual se-nse :-

ḿ náàrụ́·wányé ọ́·rụ· , ike a naà-gwụ́wányéḿ (lit. 'while I'm working more, is while my strength is ceasing more') 'the more I work, the more tired I become'.

ị́ náamụ̀, náàgá níí·hú·, ị́ gàà-hụ́· ḿmáya (lit. 'while you contin-ue learning while progressing, yo-u will grasp its goodness') 'the more you go on studying, the more you will appreciate its value'.

á néèléya anya, onye ewù kọ̈ó bụ̀ (lit. 'while one keeps on examining him, (one concludes) that he's a fool') 'the more one thinks about him, the more one comes to the conclusion that he's a fool'.

(j) FUTURE SENSE

ọ́ gèèjí égbúgbú, gbújíé óshíshí 'he'll use an axe to fell a tree'. N.B. gbújíé is THEN-tense (Page). Like 14a (Page 61), there are the alternatives :- ọ́ gèéjì é-gbúgbú, gbújíé óshíshi = ọ́ gèéwè égbúgbú, gbújíé óshíshí .

(k) USING ỊNỌ

ḿ nọ̀, náàcọ́rịrị́ òkèḿ (lit. 'I remain (11b, Page 52) while seeking my share') 'my claim is still valid'.

íkwucìbìdò 'speaking and blocking' : ọ́ nọ̀, néèkwúcìbídó madụ̀ ní-ile ọnụ̀· 'he monopolises every conversation'.

(L) PAST SENSE

ó jìrì égbúgbú, gbújíé óshíshi= ó wèèrè égbúgbú, gbújíé óshíshí ' he cut down (as in N.B. to (j) ab-ove) the tree with an axe'.

(m) IMPERATIVE

jirí (=weré) ḿmiri, fụ̀nyụ́ọ́ ọ́kụ 'extinguish the fire with water!

15. THE 'THEN' TENSE

(a) To express sequence, we have what I call the THEN-tense. (ii) This tense consists of the perfect tense (Page 46) minus its final -le, -la : like the pe-rfect, the THEN-tense affects the tone of the next word (10h , Page 47).

(b) When we have a pronoun-sub-ject in both the clauses, we ha-ve the past tense in clause 1 and the THEN-tense in clause 2 , in order to express past sequence.

(c) Alternatively, the THEN-tense can appear in both clauses.

(d) The subject-pronouns used before this tense have falling glide from H to M. They are seen below, but of course, for the mo-ment, the examples given are on-ly the 2nd clauses of sentences - not complete sentences : these will be given later after the ba-sic principles are understood.

(e) MODEL FOR 2nd CLAUSES

(i) before verb with Group 1 vow-els

ḿm = mée.... 'then I (did etc)
íi 'then you (did).....
óo = yée 'then he, she, it (did)... (yée < yá (12f.ii on Page 55. Similarly, mée < mụ́ e (12f.ii)).
ànyị̀ è 'then we (did)....
ùnù è 'then you people (did)..
háa· 'then they (did)....

(ii) before Group 2 vowels

ḿm = máa 'then I (did).....
ịị 'then you (did).....
ọ́ọ = yáa 'then he, she, it(did
ànyị̀ à 'then we (did)....
ùnù à 'then you people (did)..
há· e then they (did).....

N.B. We see here a very rare case of progressive assimila

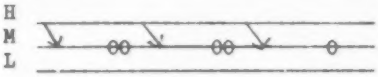
-tion contrary to the normal pro-cess described in A.5b.iii, Page 5. Here, instead of íe becoming ée, it becomes íi : also ɨ́e has become ɨ́ɨ . yáe follows A.5b regressively and > yée : yáe has progressive assimilation and > yáa : also sylla-bic semivowel ḿ + e > ḿḿ .

(iii) Examples with M tone (H-monosyllabic verb)

.....ḿḿ shie '....then I cooked'=mée shie ..íi shie =gíi shie 'you cooked' (gɨ́i > gíi). '...óo shie = yéeshie '....then she cooked'.

....ànyɨ̀ è shíé '...then we co-oked'. ....únù è shíé '...'then you folk cooked'. ....há· e shie ...'then they cooked'.

....ḿḿ gaa = máa gaa '....'then I went'. ...ḿḿ bya = máa bya .... 'then I came' (See (xvi), Page 50). ànyɨ̀ à byá '....then we came'. ....ǫ́ǫ gaa = yáa gaa 'then she we-nt'.



ḿḿ gaa máa gaa ḿḿ bya

(iv) Examples with L tone (L mono-syllabic verb)

....ḿḿ dåá = máa dåá '....then I fell'. ....ɨ́ɨ dåá = gáa dåá '... then you fell' (< gɨ́ a). ....ǫ́ǫ dåá = yáa dåá '....then he, she , it fell'.

....ànyɨ̀ à dàá = ányɨ̀ à dàá ' then we fell'. ....únù à dàá '.. then you people fell'. ....há· a dåá 'then they fell'.

(f) Examples of actual 2-clause sentences :

(i) different pronoun-subject in each clause

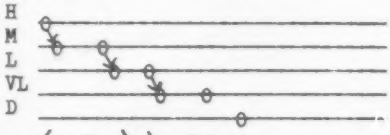
ɨ́ byàrà, máa bya 'you came and then I came' = ɨ́ɨ bya maà byà (15b

ǫ́ kwàgìdèrèḿ, máa gaa 'he persuaded me to go' (lit. 'he persua-ded me and then I went').

ɨ́ sɨ nå ɨ́ gààbyá, ḿḿ sɨ̀ nä ḿ gà-àbyá 'you said you would come an-d then I said I should come'.

ǫ́ hụ̀·rụ̀·ḿ, ɨ́ɨ hụ·yà 'he saw me, then you saw him' (L.iii,Page 50) = ǫ́ǫ hụ·ḿ ɨ̀ɨ hụ̀·yä .

ɨ́ dàrà, máa dåá 'you fell down and then I fell down'.



ǫ́ǫ hụ·ḿ ɨ̀ɨ hụ·ya

ó jìrì égbúgbú, gbújíé óshíshí 'he cut down the tree with an axe ' (L on Page 63).

(ii) ígbuji type (H.2f.i :Page 34) :- ǫ́ byàrà, mée gbujie oshi-shi 'he came and then I felled the tree'.

ó gbùjìrì óshíshí, há· e bya = óo gbujie oshishi, ha· è byà 'he cut down the tree and then they came'.

(iii) ɨ́fụ̀nyụ̀ type (H.2f.ii :Pa-ge 34) :- ǫ́ byàrà, ḿḿ fụ̀nyụ́ǫ́ ǫ́-kụ 'he came and then I extinguished the fire'.

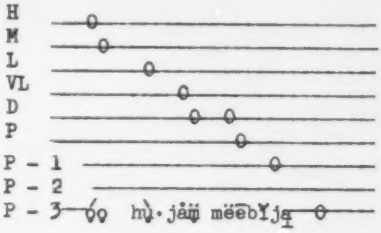
(iv) íwefụ̀ type (f.iii Page 34) :- ǫ́ byàrà, ḿḿ wèfụ́ ǫ́kà 'he ca-me and then I removed the maize '. See (v) below.

(v) ígbubi type (f.iv Page 35) ǫ́ byàrà, mée gbùbiéé ǫ́kà 'he came and then I cut off some mai-ze'. ǫ́ byàrà, ḿḿ gbùbicáá ǫ́kà 'he came and then I cut off some maize'.

(vA)

The verbs ɨ́hụ·jå 'alarming a person, and íbijå 'become terrified' are examples of 2f.iii N.B . (Page 34) for they are conju-

gated like íwefù , though not ending in -fù:- ǫ́ hù.jàràm̀, mée bìjä ' he alarmed me and I felt afraid =ǫǫ́ hù.jàm̀, méē bǐja . We here need 9 levels (see (cc), Page 11) : shows 1 level below P. shows 2 levels below P. shows 3 below P.



(g) ALTERNATIVE FORMS OF SUB -JECT PRONOUNS

The subject-pronouns shown in 15e (Page 63) have alternatives which have L tone :- m̀: ì etc.

Examples

ì byàrà, m̀ byá 'you came,then I came'.

ónyé nwéé égo, ò zùǫ́ é·hi· ' if a person (ónyé) has money, he buys a cow' : 'whoever has enough money buys a cow' =ónye nwéé égo. ǫǫ̀ zùǫ̀ è·hì· * See ' if'

ónyé zùǫ́ é·hi· ǫ̀ nyém̀ ya=ónyé zùǫ́ é·hi· ǫǫ̀ nyèm̀ yà 'if a person (=whoever) has a goat,he gives me it'.

(h) PAUSE

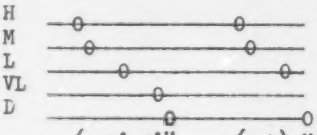
In sentences containing 2nd clause with THEN, the 1st clause may sometimes end in an objective pronoun : in such a case , the vowel (e.g. -ya) or syllabic sound (-m̀) at the end of 1 st clause will stand next to co -nsonant (e.g. yée), vowel (ǫǫ) or syllabic sound (m̀m̀) beginning the 2nd clause.

In this case, we have a situation like that in 12k (Page 56) for each of these clauses is an entity of its own and a pause , slight or considerable occurs. In the latter case, the pause acts as a buffer and the situation resembles that in 4d on Page 11 and we commence the 2nd clause as if it were not pr -eceded by any other words. We can also have a conjunction such as kà 'in order that' betwe -en the two clauses :-

Examples

m̀ mèrèyá, kǫǫ́ dí m̀ma 'I did so,so that it may become improv -ed' = m̀ mèrèyá, ǫǫ dì m̀ma = m̀ mèrèyá, ǫ̀ dí m̀ma (lit. 'I did it and it then improved'). For tone of m̀ma, see Dictionary.

ǫǫ hù·jàm̀....mée bìjä 'he al -armed me...and I became terrified'. This is the sentence at the top of the opposite column said with greater pause between the clauses than on the diagram



ǫ́ nǫ̀gìdèrèm̀,.. m̀ rùǫ́· ǫ́·r -ù· 'he stayed with me whi -ile I worked'.

ǫ́ nǫ̀gìdèrèm̀...kàm̀ rùǫ́· ǫ́· -rù. 'he remained with me.. to ensure that I worked'.

(j) 'PEOPLE' AS SUBJECT

ínǫ̀kàtà :- áa nǫ̀kátá, ǫ̀ bàtá 'after a while he entered'. à nǫ̀kátá, m̀ byá 'I came a short time afterwards'.

(k) Clause 1 pronoun-subj -ect : clause 2 noun-subject

1. MID VERB

(a) Noun ending in H tone

ì gàrà, ényí a gaa = ì gaa, enyi à gàà 'first you went, then the elephant went'. N.B. As the THEN-tense is abbreviation of the perfect, these 2nd clauses fol

-low the model of 10jjj, Page 48. As we shall see below, this sentence = ɨ́ɨ gafʊ̨̀·, ényí a gaa .

í shìrì, ényìḿ e shie 'you cook-ed, afterwards my friend (ényì) cooked'.

(b) noun ending in M tone

ḿ gàrà, ṇ́kɨ́ta à gàà 'I went and then the dog went'.

(c) noun ending in L tone

ànyɨ́ gàrà, ézè à byá 'after you had gone, the king came'.

2. LOW VERB

(a) Noun ending in H tone

ḿ dàrà, ényìḿ à dàá = ḿ dàrà, ényìḿ á dàá 'I fell, then my frie-nd fell' = ḿ̀ḿ dafʊ̨̀·, ényìḿ à dàá etc. ḿ sèrè, ényìḿ è sèé 'I pull-ed and after that, my friend pul-led'.

(b) Noun ending in M tone

ǫ́ dàrà, ṇ́kɨ́ta à dàá = ǫ́ dàrà , ṇ́kɨ́ta a dàá 'after she fell, the dog fell'.

(c) Noun ending in L tone

há· dàrà, ézè à dàá = há· dàrà ézè á dàá = há· e dàfʊ̨̀·, ézè à dà-á = há· e dàfʊ̨̀·, ézè á dàá 'they fell, then the king fell'.

(L) Clause 1 noun-subject : clause 2 pronoun-subject

ézè byàrà, máa bya 'after the king's arrival, I came'.

ógè gàrà, nwá ṇ́tɨ́ṇ́tɨ́ yáa nwʊ̨ǫ· ' after a short period he died'.

(m) Clauses 1 and 2 having same pronoun-subject : or noun-subject in 1 with pronoun-subject in 2 referring to same noun-subject

ó jìrì égbúgbú, gbújíé óshíshí 'he took an axe and felled a tree'(14L on Page 63).

ótú ole kả ó shìrì nwʊ́á· 'in what manner did he die?'.

N.B. In this type, the pronoun subject is not repeated before the verb of the 2nd clause. Verb-roots containing only H syllables have H tone.

ó jìrì ḿmíri fʊ̨̀nyʊ́ǫ́ ǫ́kʊ̨ 'he took water and put out the fire'.

ó jì égo, kwádó ʊ́làákwʊ́kwǫ́ à 'he endowed (ɨ́kwàdò) this school'.

ǫ́ byàrà, wéfʊ̨̀ ǫ́kà 'he came and removed the maize'. ǫ́ byàrà, gbúbieé ǫ́kà 'he came and cut off the maize'. ǫ́ byàrà, nyé-meegò 'he came and gave me the money'. ḿ byàrà, jááya 'I came and praised him'.

ó tìkpǫ̀rǫ̀ ókwú ḿ ròrò ìrùrò, kwúó 'he demolished (ítikpǫ) my arguments' (lit. 'he demolished the words which I thought out and said').

(n) Sometimes, after íji= íshi 'managed to', the verb of the THEN-clause fails to expand:-

Examples

cǫtá ótú há· sìrì yíé=cǫtá ótú há· sìrì yí 'notice how similar (íyi) they are!'.

ṇ̀dɨ́ghɨ otu ṇ̀kàä jï fʊ̨̀ǫ́ǫ́ (= jï fʊ̨̀ʊ́) ícè nààhʊ́. ṇ́dɨ́ ǫzǫ ' how does this one differ from the others?'.

(o) LONGER FORMS OF 'THEN'

(i) We can use sentences having past tense in Clause 1 (15f on Page 64) and suffix a particle hʊ̨̀ 'in fact' : 'ind-eed' after the past tense whose subject-pronouns are the normal ones ḿ, ɨ́, ǫ́, ó etc.

(ii) We can model the sentence on one like ɨ́ɨ bya,maà byà (15f.i, foot Page 64), on

this occasion also, using the adverb hụ̀· after the verb. The subject-pronouns here and in all the -se constructions except (i) above, are those of 15e (Pages 63 - 64). The THEN-tense used here in Nos. (ii) to (vi) is that of 15c on Page 63.

(iii) We can suffix -sị (M. vii on Page 51) to the 1st verb, this as always, resulting in a compound verb which expands e.g. ɩ́byasị : we use this in the THEN-tense.

(iv) We can suffix the adverbial hụ̀· to the -sị of (iii) above.

(v) We can suffix -fụ̀· , this fụ̀· + the preceding verb forming compound verb treated like íwefụ̀ : this compound verb (as well as (iii) above e.g. ɩ́hụ·sị) has its pronoun-suffixes after -FỤ and is treated like íi wèfụ̀m̈ (13a.iv on Page 59).

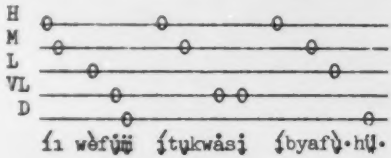
The THEN-tense affects the tone of the following noun according to the normal tone-rules, so these compound verbs of (iii) and (v) e.g. ɩ́hụ·fụ̀· , ɩ́hụ·sị affect the tone of the next noun, whereas hụ̀· does not form a compound with the previous verb and so has no effect on the next noun.

Whenever hụ̀· is used in any of these THEN-constructions, the pro-noun-suffixes stand before it.

(vi) We can suffix HỤ· to the FỤ· of (v) above. When FỤ· has L tone, we have -fụ̀·hụ̈· , but if FỤ· is not L, then HỤ· is 2 tones below it.

This type of form which ends in -fụ̀·hụ̈· e.g. ɩ́byafụ̀·hụ̈· does not correspond with the íi wèfụ̀m̈ system of (v) above where wèfụ̈ has been raised to wèfụ̀ + m̈ , for here we have 1 tone between -fụ̀· and m̈, whereas we have 2 tones between -fụ̀· and hụ̈· in the word ɩ́byafụ̀·hụ̈· .

Similarly, the tone does not re-semble that of ɩ́tụkwåsị where -kwåsị is 2 levels below ɩ́tụ- : in ɩ́byafụ̀·hụ̈·, the drop of 2 levels is between ɩ́byafụ̀- and -hụ̈·



Examples of the verb-types

(p) o.i construction

i. H monosyllable

ɩ́ byàrà hụ̀· , máa bya = ɩ́ byàrà, máa bya (15f.i at foot of Page 64, Column 1) 'you came, then I came'.

ii. H monosyllable + suffix

ɩ́ hụ̀·rụ̀·m̀ hụ̀· , máa hụ.gị̀ = ɩ́ hụ̀·rụ̀·m̀, máa hụ̀.gị̀ 'I saw you and you saw me' (3rd example, top of Page 64, Column 2).

iii (ígbuji type) ó gbùjìrì hụ̀· óshíshí, máa bya = ó gbùjìrì óshí -shí, máa bya 'he cut down the tr-ee shortly before I came' : 'he had already felled the tree before I arrived'.

iv (ɩ́fụ̀nyụ̀ type) ọ́ fụ̀nyụ̀rụ̀ (= ọ́ fụ̀nyụ̀rụ̀ hụ̀·) ọ́kụ́, míri à gbwàbiẹ̀ẹ́ 'the rain stopped after he had extinguished the fire' (10f on Page 47).

v (íwefụ̀ : ígbubi types)

ọ́ hụ·jåråm̀ (=ọ́ hụ·jåråm̀ hụ̀·) , mée bìjä 'he alarmed me and I felt afraid'.

ó gbubiri (=ó gbubiri hụ̀·) ọ́kà, máa gaa 'I went away after he had cut off the maize'.

.....

(q) o.ii construction

i. H monosyllable

ɩ́ị bya hụ̀· , máa bya 'first you came, then I came'.

ii. H monosyllable + suffix

ɩ́ị hụ̀·m̀ (=ɩ́ị hụ̀·m̀ hụ̄·), máa hụ̀.-gị̀ 'you saw me, then I saw you'

iii (ígbuji type)
óo gbujie hụ̀· óshíshí, máa bya 'I came after he had cut down th-e tree'.

iv (ífụ̀nyụ̀ type)
ọ́ọ fụ̀nyụ́ọ́ hụ̀· ọ́kụ́, míri à gbwà-biéé 'as soon as he put out the fire, the rain ceased'.

v (íwefụ̀ type)
óo wèfụ̀ hụ̄· égo, ịị̀ byà 'he had removed the money before you came'. ọ́ọ hụ̀jäm̩ hụ̄·, méebìjä=p.v

vi (ígbubi type)
méegbùbiéé hụ̀· ọ́kà, há· a bya 'they came after I had cut off the maize'.

.....

(r) o.iii construction + o.iv
i. H monosyllable
ịị̀ byasịa (=ịị̀ byasịa hụ̀·), ḿ̩m̩ bya 'you came, then I came'

ii. H monosyllable + suffix
ịị̀ hụ·sịam̩, (=ịị̀ hụ·sịam̩ hụ̄·), máa hụ̀·gị̀ 'you saw me and I saw you'.

iii. (ígbuji type)
óo gbujisịa (=óo gbujisịa hụ̀·) óshíshí, máa bya 'I came after he had felled the tree'; see v, Page 47

iv (ífụ̀nyụ̀ type)
ọ́ọ fụ̀nyụ́sịá ọ́kụ, m̩m̩ byà = ọ́ọ fụ̀nyụ́sịá hụ̀· ọ́kụ́, ḿ̩m̩ bya 'I came after he had put out the fire See vi, P.47.

v (íwefụ̀ : ígbubi types)

(with suffix):- ọ́ọ hụ̀.jäsịám̩(=ọ́ọ hụ̀·jäsịám̩ hụ̀·), mée bìjä 'wh-en he alarmed me, I was afraid' : formed like viii, Page 47.

(without suffix)
óo gbùbïsịá ákwụ máa bya = óo gbùbïsịá hụ̀· ákwụ́, máa bya'I ca-me after he had cut off the palmnuts'.

.....

(s) o.v construction
i. H monosyllable

ịị̀ byàfụ̄· máa bya 'you came,th-en I came'.

ii. ịị̀ hụ̀·fụ̀m̩, máa hụ̀·gị̀ 'you saw me, then I saw you'.

iii (ígbuji type)
(see viii on Page 47 : ọ́ laghà-cílé) :- óo gbùjïfụ́· óshíshí, máa bya 'he felled the tree and I came afterwards'.

iv (ífụ̀nyụ̀ type)
(see viii on Page 47 : VN 1 ị́-fụnyụ̀fụ̀·) :- ọ́ọ fụ̀nyụ̈fụ́· ọ́kụ, maà bya 'I came after he had extingui-shed the fire'. No. v, see t.v.

.....

Further example of s.i :- ịị̀ sị̀-fụ̄· nä ị́ gààbyá, ḿ̩m̩ sị̀ nà m̩ gàá-byá 'you said you would come, so I said I would come'.

.....

(t) o.vi construction
For meanings of sentences, see (s) above.

i. H. monosyllable
ịị̀ byàfụ̀·hụ̄· , máa bya . ii. H monosyllable + suffix :- ịị̀ hụ̀·fụ̀m̩ hụ̄·, máa hụ̀·gị̀ .

iii (ígbuji type) óo gbùjïfụ́· hụ̀· óshíshí, máa bya . iv (ífụ̀nyụ̀ type) :- ọ́ọ fụ̀nyụ̈fụ́· hụ̀· ọ́kụ́, máa bya .

v (íwefụ̀ : ígbubi types) ọ́ọ hụ̀·-jäfụ́·m̩, meè bìjā (s.v above) = ọ́ọ hụ̀·jäfụ́·m̩ hụ̀· , mée bìjä (t.v).

.....

(u) o.vi construction with noun-subject in clause 1

Òkóyè à byáfụ̀·, máa bya ' first Okoye came, then I came'.

(uu) o.vi construction with noun-subject in clause 2

ịị̀ byàfụ̈· , Òkóyè à byá 'first you came, then Okoye came'. ịị̀ dà-fụ̈·, Òkóyè á dàa 'you fell, then Okoye fell'. ịị̀ dàfụ̈·, ényí à dàá 'after you fell, then the elephant fell'.

.....

.....

(V) THE THEN-FORM USED WITH VARIOUS TENSES

(i) So far, we have seen the THEN-form used only with past sense

: it is however, timeless and can be used after any tense, to denote sequence of action, the THEN- form being coloured by the time at which the action of the main verb occurred. This point will become clear from the following examples.

(ii) 'then it is while' : see Addenda 21.

(iii) present-continuous + THEN
ụ̀kpàrà nèré· ọ́kụ,à sị́ nà (= áa sị nả) ọ́ nahyà m̀mánụ̀· (lit. 'the grasshopper is being scorched by the fire, then people said that he is exuding oil') 'things are not always what they seem'.

(iv) habitual + THEN
úcè 'a thought' : ífè 'passing' : úce m̀bụ̀ nëëmé, bụ́rụ́ ṇ̀kèé kasị m̀ma (lit. 'one's first thought occurs (to one) and then become (Page) the thing which exceeds as to goodness') 'first thoughts are best'.

mụ́ọya nèèsí ná ṇ́ñụ̀rị́, fèré nííru ujů 'her moods vary from happiness to depression' (lit. 'start (ísi) from joy and then pass on to grief') : fèré (Page

íshí àkụ̀yá nèéwètáráya egò,tììrì nụ̀ụ̀gwọ̀ ọ̀nwáyà 'his capital brings him in money and causes an increase in his monthly salary (ụ́gwọ́ ọ́nwa)' (tììrì, see k.ii on Page 49).

(v) present negative + THEN.
ọ́kụ́ á naghị ènwú· , ghàrá ị́hyọ anwụ·rụ̀· (lit. 'fire does not shine and then cease to raise smoke') 'no rose without a thorn!' : 'what one gains on the swings, one loses on the roundabouts'.

(vi) imperative + THEN
weré m̀mìri, fụ̀nyụ́ọ́ ọ́kụ 'take some water and extinguish the fire!'.

(vii) imperative negative (Page) + THEN
é jile ọkụ ìnwọ̀gọ̀, rụ́·kárị́á óké ọ́·rụ· 'don't work too much by artificial light!'.

(viii) 'state' + THEN
ághụ̀ghụ̀ kòó jì bírí 'he makes his living by trickery' : 'he lives by his wits'.

m̀ dị̀ nà ṇ́rọ, dáá 'I dreamed I fell down' (lit. 'I was in a dream (11b, Page 52), then I fell down').

ọ́ dị̀ m̀ma, kpọ̀ó ọ́kụ neebaả 'it is nice and warm here'. ó sì éb-é áhụ̀·, byá 'he came from that place'. ónyé ṇga si nả ṇ̀gá,gbwá-fụ̀ 'the prisoner escaped from the prison' (lit. 'got out and then took to his heels').

(ix) future + THEN
ọ́ gàámụ̀cá, fụ̀tá kà díbya 'he will qualify as a doctor' (lit. 'he'll learn thoroughly and will then issue as a medical man'

ọ̀ gághị itè ányá, m̀ lụ́tá nwáà-nyị̀ 'it won't be long before I marry a wife' (lit. 'it won't be far off, then I'll marry....

m̀gbè é mècàrà, máa bya 'I'll come eventually' (lit.'when one has done thoroughly, then I'll come'.

ọ́ gèèjí égbúgbú, gbújíé óshíshí 'he'll use the axe to cut down the tree' (14j, Page 63).

(x) future negative (Page) + THEN :- ọ̀ gághị ịdị̀ ànyà , yàá byä 'it won't be long before he comes'.

(xi) perfect + THEN
ó jile ụgbwaálá, gáá 'he went by train': 'he's gone by train'

(xii) interrogative (Page ·
ò nwè ìkó byara taả, tíwárá nụ́· 'are there any breakages among the cups which came today?' (lit. 'are there any cups which came today and then broke?'

.....
.....

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(W) 'DID IT WELL'

(i) To express 'did it well', we use merely one clause, not two. We again use the THEN-tense, but preceded not by the pronoun-subjects of 15e (Page 63): their place is taken by forms with H tone instead of the forms with falling glide shown in 15e :-

Examples

í kwuo ezi okwù 'what you said is certainly true'.

í shie ŋri å 'how well you cooked this food!'.

ɨ́bǫ 'weeding' : ǫ́ bǫǫ ǫ.rụ· à how well he weeded this farm '.

ɨ́bǫ̀ 'dismembering a carcase' : ǫ́ bǫǫ́ ánụ́· à 'how well he cut up this carcase!'.

(ii) This 'well'-form affects the tone of the following noun according to the normal tone-rules :- àkwá 'egg' : í shie àkwà ' you've boiled the egg well!'.

(iii) Examples of noun-subjects

The tones follow 15k, Page 65:- ìkó e ju 'how full the cup is!' (perfect :- ìkó e jule 'the cup is full').

óyi 'coldness' : óyí a karɨka ' the cold has become very severe!' (perfect :- óyí a karɨkala 'the cold has increased').

ɨ́kpa 'propelling' : ígbu 'killing, overcoming' : verb ɨ́kpagbu: example :- ǹkaå å kpágbúéɱ nǫǫcɨ 'this hassent me into peals of laughter (ǫ́cɨ̀)' (perfect :- ǹkaå à kpágbúéléɱ nǫǫcɨ).

ɨ́tǫ=ɨ́tǫkɨ 'being a nuisance to'. This ɨtǫkɨ is a verb which does not expand (10m, Page 50) :- á tǫkɨ́rɨ́ɱ 'people have been a nuisance to me' : 'I'm in a worried state' (perfect :- á tǫkɨ́rɨ́láɱ

ɨ́nyɨ̀ 'being burdensome to'. Also a non-expanding verb of 10m, Page 50 :- ǫ́ nyɨ̀ɱ 'how burdensome this has proved to me!' (perfect :- ǫ́ nyɨláɱ).

(iv) It will have been observed that this form arises by cutting off the -LE, -LA of the perfect : compare kpágbúéléɱ with kpágbúéɱ : nyɨláɱ with nyɨ̀ɱ .

16. CONDITIONS

(a) (i) We use the THEN- tense in both clauses (15 above), but in the first clause, the subject-pronoun (like that of W in the opposite column) has H tone, not falling glide .

(ii) But, unlike W in the opposite column, those verbs all of whose syllables are H, have their THEN-form H, that is to say, like the verb-forms in 15g on Page 65.

(iii) When a subject-pronoun introduces clause 2, we can employ the alternative subject- pronouns of 15g, Page 65.

(iv) The future may be used in clause 2 instead of the THEN-form

(v) Examples of pronoun-subject in both clauses

ɨ́ byá, máa bya = ɨ́ byá, ɱ́ gàà-byá 'if you come, I shall come'.

ó shíé ŋ́ri, meè rìèyå = ǫ́ bụ́rụ́ nà ó shíé ŋ́ri, meè rìèyå = ǫ́ bụ́rụ́ nà ó shíé ŋ́ri, ɱ gèèríya = ó shíé ŋ́ri, ɱ gèèríya = ó shíé ŋ́ri, ɱ̇ rí-éya 'if she cooks food, I'll eat it'. N.B. ǫ́ bụ́rụ́ is itself a condition and means 'if it is the case...' (see xvi, Page 52).

í sí nààsáà, gbwáfụ àǹǫ̀·, àtǫ́ gààfǫ́ 'if you deduct 4 from 7, then 3 remains' (lit. 'if you start (iiiA on Page 51) from 7 and if you deduct 4 (àǹǫ́· : see 13d, Page 60), 7 will remain over').

(vi) Comparison of THEN and IF

(ɨ́ byá, máa bya 'if you come, I shall come'.
(ɨ́ɨ bya, maà byà 'you came, then I came'.

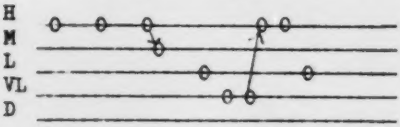
(ó shíé ŋ́ri, meè rìèyå 'if she cooks the food, I'll eat it'.

(óo shie ŋrì , mèè rìèyä ' after (she cooked the food, I ate it'.

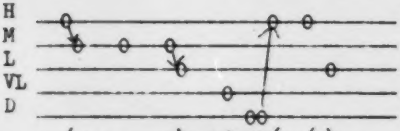
(ọ́ byá, mée gbujie oshishi 'if he (comes, I'll fell the tree'.
(ọ́ọ bya, meè gbùjìè óshishi 'I cut (down the tree after he came'.

(ọ́ byá, máa fụ̀nyụ́ọ́ ọ́kụ 'if he com-(es, I shall extinguish the fire'.
(ọ́ọ bya, maà fụ̈nyụ́ọ ọ́kụ 'he came (and I then put out the fire'.

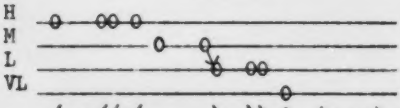
(ọ́ byá, mée gbùbìèé ọ́kà 'if she co(-mes, I'll cut off the maize'.
(ọ́ọ bya, m̩m̩ gbùbïëé ọ́kà 'I cut off (the maize after her arrival'.



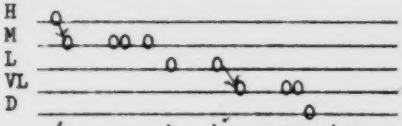
ọ́ byá, mée gbùbìèé ọ́kà ('if')



ọ́ọ bya, m̩m̩ gbùbïëé ọ́kà ('then')



ó shíé ŋ́ri, meè rìèyä ('if')



óo shie ŋrì, mèè rìèyä ('then

(vii) Sometimes, the 1st clause is replaced by a relative sentence : so, in the example below, 'a lou-se which people seek' is equival-ént to 'if they seek a louse', he-nce we have THEN-form in the 2nd clause :-

ígwú á nàcọ́ nèètítì íshi, ȧ nw-ụ́·táya naabụ̀bȧ ŋ́tị̀ (lit.'a louse which people seek in the centre of the scalp, can sometimes be clutched hold of at the edge of the ear') 'sometimes, one does not see the wood, for the trees'

(viii) See 15g, Page 65

(ix) 'if' introduced by a verb

ọ́ sị̀ nà yá léé ọ́nọ̀dụ̀ kpákpáṇdò , yà kọ́ọ́ éci 'he claims that if he looks at the position of the stars, he can prophecy the future'.

(x) 'whether.. .or'

ọ́ jọ́ọ́ ŋ́jọ ȯ, ọ́ dị́ ḿ̩ma ȯ, nwú-nyèm̩ kọ̀ọ́ bụ̀ 'whether she is good or whether she is bad, at any ra-te, she is my wife'.

(b) PROVIDED THAT

The 1st clause may be strength-ened by suffixing hàá· = hàá·lá to the verb in the sense of 'pro-vided that....'. The verb does not expand: moreover,it changes its tone :-

Example of monosyllable

i. ímụ 'the giving birth' : ọ́ mụ́ hàá· nwa ..... 'provided she gives birth to a child.....'

ii. ímụ̀ 'setting light to' : ọ́ mụ́ hàá· ọ́kụ = ọ́ mụ́ hàá·lá ọ́kụ..... 'provided she lights the lamp....

iii. íkwenye 'agreeing' : ó kwé-nyè hàá., m̩ gèèméya 'on condition that he agrees, I'll do so'. (ígbuji type).

iv (ífụ̀nyụ̀ type) :- ọ́ fụ́nyụ̀ hà-á· ..... 'provided he extinguish-es.....'.

v (íwefụ̀ type) :- ó wéfụ̀ hàá· akwa.... = ó wéfụ̀ hàá·lá akwa.... 'provided she removes the eggs..'

vi (ígbubi type) ó gbúbì hàá· ọ́kà..... = ógbúbì hàá.lá ọ́kà..... 'provided he cut off the maize...

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(c) AS SOON AS

Again, if in clause 1, we use a verb with tones different from th -ose of the verbs in 16b just abo -ve, and we use the THEN-form in clause 2, the meaning is 'as soon as....then...'. The tones of the verbs are one level lower than in (b) above :-

Example of H monosyllable (i)
ọ́ mụ hàá· nwa , maà byà 'I came as soon as she had given birth to her child' = ọ́ mụ hàá·lá nwa,maà byà .(verb :- ɪ́mụ).

Example of L monosyllable
ii (ɪ́mụ̀ 'setting light to') :-
ọ́ mụ hàá· ọ́kụ, maà byà 'I came as soon as she had lighted the la -mp'.

Examples of compound verbs
iii (ɪ́gbuji type) :- ọ́ kwenyè hàá·, máa bya 'no sooner had he given his consent than I came'.

iv (ɪ́fùnyù type) ọ́ fụnyụ̀ hàá·lá ọ́kụ, ànyɪ̀ à byá 'we came immediately he extinguished the fire'.

v (ɪ́wefụ́ type) : verb ɪ́kwufụ́:- ọ́ kwufụ́ hàá·lá, yáa mee 'no soon -er was it said than it was eone'

vi (ɪ́gbubi type) ọ́ gbubi hàá· ọ́kà , ùnù à byá 'you folk arrived just after he cut off the maize'.

(d) clause 1 noun-subject : cl -ause 2 pronoun-subject

Examples
ɪ́kè 'dividing out' : àbụ́ọ kèé iri, ọ̀ọ́ fụ́tá ise 'if 2 is divided into 10, it results in 5' = àbụ́ọ kèé iri, ọ́ fụ́tá ise = àbụ́ọ kèé i-ri, ọ fụ́tárá ísé ise (past tense)

ícefù 'forgetting' : ónyé láá , è céfuóya 'if a person is away , he is forgotten' : 'out of sight, out of mind!'.

díbyà gwọ́hyeé, ọ sí òwèrè láá ' if a doctor makes a wrong diagnosis, he leaves by the backyard an -d makes himself scarce' : ' discretion is the better part of valour'.

(e) clause 1 pronoun-subject : clause 2 noun-subject

á kpọ́ọ́ madụ̀ ásɪ̀, ọ́jọ́ è zùóya àhụ́· 'if a man is hated, then ev -ery crime is attributed to him' (ízù 'being sufficient') = 'give a dog a bad name and hang him!'.

(f) -gódú =-gódɪ́rɪ̀

These are suffixes to verbs me -aning 'even if' : as they form the 2nd element of a compound,th -ey prevent expansion of the 1st element :-

Examples
ɪ́jo 'being bad' : ọ́ jọ́gódú ọ́jọ nwúnyèm̀ kọ̀ọ́ bụ̀ 'even if she is bad, nevertheless she is my wife ' (see (x) on Page 71).

ɪ́gbwasa 'the fact of being a person's concern' : ọ́ nwụ́·gódɪ́rɪ̀ , ọ̀ gbwásaghɪm̀ 'even if he's dead, it is no concern of mine' : 'I haven't the slightest knowledge whether he's dead or not: it is of no interest to me'.

(g) noun-subject in both clauses

ụ́mụ́ọ fụ̀tá, ónyé ọ́zùzù à gbwáwá ọ́sọ'if the fetish is paraded rou -nd, the senseless person takes to his heels': 'faint heart never won fair lady'.

nwá agbọghọbyà mákárɪ́á í.hye·, ya nà ọ́néya è bíkó nụ́ụ́lọ̀ 'if a girl is a know-all (ɪ́makarɪ̀),she and her mother (are left) to live together (íbikọ) in the same house' i.e. under these circumstances, every man will fight shy of this masterful girl.

(h) For sentences like 'if one takes, the other will take', see 20m.ii, Page 81.

(j) WHOEVER : WHATEVER ETC.

See :- ónyé nwéé égo.... AND ónyé zụ́ọ́ é·hı· (15g on Page 65).

í nwèrè íké ígota ọ̀tábà ébé í jé nà 'you can buy tobacco wherever you go'.

í·hyé· ọ̀bụ̀là ị́ gèènyéṃ gàádị́m ṃma 'whatever you give me will pl-ease me'.

See 14a.ıı, Page 62 :- ébé ọ̀bụ̀là ọ́ nèèfé náàgá .

(k) 'IF' IN SECOND CLAUSE

We use mà + the THEN-tense to express 'if' or 'when' in the 2nd clause :-

Examples

mecíé ụ́zọ̀ mị̀ị́ fụ̀ọọ́ 'close the door when you go out!'.

(L) 'IF' NEGATIVELY

For negative -ghị, see Page :- nwáànyị̀ é shighị, dıyà è righị 'if a woman does not cook, then her husband does not eat'.

màṃ́ shíghị, ò ríghị 'if I don't cook, he'll not eat'.

mòó shíghị, ṃ̀ ríghị 'if she doesn't cook, I'll shall not be able to eat'.

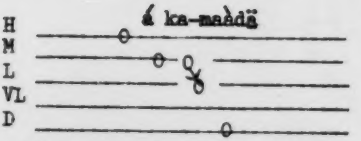
(m) unrealised conditions (ı)

ọ́ bụ́rụ́ nà ó shìrì ṇ́rí, ṃ́ gààrà íriya = ásị́ nà ó shìrì ṇ́rí, ṃ́ gà-àrà íriya 'had she cooked food , I should have eaten it': for ọ́ bụ́-rụ́ nà, see 15a.v, Page 70. á sị́ nà means 'if one says that....'.

ọ́ bụ́rụ́ nà ṃ́ mààrà ézí ókwu, ṃ gàárà ị́ga = ṃ̀ gàrà máárá ézí ókwu , ṃ gàárà ị́ga 'if I had known the truth, I should have gone'.

(ıı) The clauses may be reversed :- ọ́ gààrà íkwe, ọ bụrụ nà ṃ́ ryọ̀rọ̀yá 'he would've agreed, had I requested him'.

(ııı) ọ́ bụ́rụ́ nà ọ́ kpọ̀rọ̀ṃ́, á ka-maàdä 'had he called me, I sho-uld have fallen over'.



This seems to derive from : - á kaṃ àdä , the falling glide maà (M to L) arising in a way similar to L.ı (top of Column 2, Page 56), though in the latter case , the falling glide is M to VL. In these constructions, we use VN 2 which however , contrary to 4c (Page 38), leaves tone of next word unchanged.

If we use as 1st clause in th-e examples below :- ọ́ bụ́rụ́ nà í kwènyèrè 'if you had agreed', then the 2nd clauses will be :-

.... á ka-meèshì ǹrì '...' I should have cooked food': this seems < hypothetical ị́mụ́ (C.5 , Page 27) ı.e. á ka mụ èshí which by 5f.ııı, Page 15 would > á ka mụ èshì > (actual form) á á ka-meèshì. For the other types of verbs. see Addenda 25.

(n) 'BY THE TIME THAT'

(ı) We render 'by the time th-at' by using mà in clause 1 + a perfect whose changed tones (used for this purpose only) express a future-perfect ı.e. 'by the time that you will have come'.

(ıı) The 1st clause has subject with H tone and means literally 'if you will have come'.

(ııı) clause 2 is the second clause of a conditional sentence and uses the normal perfect tones and expresses 'then I sha-ll have finished' etc. So, we use perfect tenses in each clau-se as equivalent to a future-perfect :-

Examples

mị̀ị́byaálá, ṃ̀ mécááláya 'by the time you come, I shall have finished' = mị́ị́byàálá, ṃ̀ mécááláya

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màḿ byaálá, ì mécááláya =máṃ by-àálá, ì mécááláya 'by the time I come, you'll have finished'.

mọ̀ọ́ byaálá, ànyị̀ mécááláya = mọ́ọ byàálá, ànyị̀ mécááláya 'by the time he comes, we'll have finished'.

mà ànyị́ byaálá, ùnù mécááláya = mà ányị byàálá, ùnù mécááláya 'by the time we come, you folk will have finished it'.

mà ùnú byaálá, ò mécááláya = mà únu byàálá, ò mécááláya 'by the time you people come, she'll have finished it'.

mà há· byaálá, hà· mécááláya = mà há· e byàálá, hà· mécááláya 'by the time that they come, they will have finished it'.

mà ḿ gbujíélé óshíshí, ò mécááláya = máṃ gbùjíélé óshíshí, ò mécááláya 'by the time I fell the tree, he'll have finished it'.

màḿ fụnyụ́ọ́lá ọ́kụ, ò mécááláya = máṃ fụ̀nyụ́ọ́lá ọ́kụ, ò mécááláya 'by the time I've extinguished the fire, he'll have finished it'.

màḿ wefụ̀lá égo, ò mécááláya =máṃ wèfụ̀lá égo, ò mécáálá ọ́·rụ· 'by the time I have removed the money, he'll have finished the work'.

màḿ gbubìèélé ọ́kà, ò mécááláya = máṃ gbùbiéélé ọ́kà, ò mécááláya 'by the time I've cut off the maize, he'll have finished'.

L monosyllable ị́mụ̀ 'learning' :- màḿ mụọ́ọ́lá ǹkaả, è mécááláya etc. 'by the time I've learned this, it will have been finished'.

(iv) We can use the future in clause 2 :-

Example with noun-subject in clause 1 :- í.hyé· meélé, ànyị́ gèènwétá úrù 'whatever happens (= in any case=come what may), we shall get some profit or other'.

Example of ṃgbè + future perfect

rụ·cá ọ́·rụ·gị ṃgbè ízù ụ́ka ọ̀zọ̀ gààgwụ́lá('finish your work when next week shall have come to an end!') 'finish your work by the end of next week!'. Note the form gààgwụ́lá which consists of future prefix gàà- + the perfect:- gwụ́lá. (o) See 19b, Page 76.

17. THE SUBJUNCTIVE

This form exemplified below is restricted to 3rd persons singular('he, she, it') and plural ('they') and expresses a command'. Its form is that of an imperative, but lowered one pitch in tone.

(a) H monosyllables

yá gàá = ọ́ gàá 'let him go!'. yá gbùòó = ó gbùòó 'he is to kill!'. yá (=ó) gbùòó ényi 'he is to kill the elephant! (ényí)

(b) As seen in the last example above, the subjunctive changes the tone of the next noun in accordance with the normal tone-rules, ényí becoming ényi.

(c) examples of noun-subject

Òkóyè gàá 'I order that Okoye go!'. yá nà Òkóyè gàá 'she and Okoye must go!'.

(d) L monosyllables

yá zàá = ọ́ zàá 'she is to sweep!' (ị́zà). ị́họ̀ 'choosing' : ọ́ họ̀ọ́ = yá họ̀ọ́ 'let him choose!'. ị́bụ̀ 'uprooting' : yá bụ̀ọ̀ọ́ = ọ́ bụ̀ọ̀ọ́ 'let him uproot!'. há· zàá 'they are to sweep!'.

(e) ígbuji type

yá (=ó) gbùjíé óshíshí 'he is to fell the tree!'.

(f) ị́fụ̀nyụ̀ type

yá (=ọ́)fụ̀nyụ́ọ́ ọ́kụ 'let him extinguish the fire!'. (ii)íwefụ̀ type yá (=ó) wefụ̀yá 'she is to remove it!. (iii) ígbubi type ó (=yá) gbubiéya 'he is to cut it off!'. verb ị́kwụghàci :- ọ́dííkpe kpèrè sị́ á kwụghàcíya ṃ-fụ̀yá 'the judges ruled that he should be reimbursed for his loss'.

(g) When dependent on a verb,

the subjunctive is not restricted to use in the 3rd person : it expresses such notions as 'ordering that...' : 'wishing that...' etc.

Examples

ɨmanye :- ọ́ mànyèrè mụ́ mèéya ' he ordered me to do it'= ọ́ tụ̀rụ̀ ṃ̀ mèéya (verb ɨtụ̀).

burú ṃ̀gbwàkọ́tágɨ dɨ́ɨ́ nííbé ákwụ́ -kwọ́ ọ̀ke àbụ́ọ 'carry your tot' forward so that it is on the se. ond page!'.

meé í·hyé· ɨ́ nàágwáya mèé 'do yourself what you tell him to do! '. meé í·hyé· ɨ́ nàágwáṃ̀ mèé 'do what you always tell me to do!'.

meé í·hyé· ɨ́ nàágwá ọ́dọ́ọzọ mèé= meé í·hyé· ɨ́ nàágwá ọ́dọ́ọzọ ha· mè -é 'do what you tell others to do!

è kwétaghɨṃ̀ sɨ ɨ láá 'I do not agree to your going' (lit. I did not agree and say that you go!').

há· nàgbwá ọ̀hụ̀họ̀ é tìnyéré ha· gò 'they are urging that their pay be increased'.

díbyà dụ̀rụ̀-mọ́ọ́dụ̀ mụ́ ṃ̀ụ̀ọ́ ọ́gwụ à 'the doctor advised that I drink this medicine'.

(h) USE OF kà

(i) Another subjunctive is form -ed by using kà 'that...' + THEN-tense :-

Examples

kàṃ̀ gbúó ényi 'I think I had be -tter kill the elephant!'.

kàṃ̀ họ̀ọ́ ákwà 'I had betterchoo- se a cloth!'.

ímesɨ 'doing thoroughly' : kèé mésɨ́á 'bon voyage!' (lit. ' may one do completely!').

(ii) In 2nd singular, we should of course, use the imperative.

(iii) This construction affects the next noun as seen in the 1st example in (i) above, where ényí has been changed into ényi .

(iv) When dependent on a verb any person, singular or plural may be used :-

Examples

ɨ́ja 'praising' : ọ́ nàcọ́ kàá já -áya 'he wishes people to eulogi -se him'.

ọ́ kwèrè kàṃ̀ gáá 'he allowed me to go' = (THEN-tense) ọ́ kwèrè ṃ̀ gáá = ọ́ kwèrè máa gaa . ọ́ tụ̀rụ̀ kàṃ̀ mééya 'he ordered me todo it ' = (THEN-tense) ọ́ tụ̀rụ̀ ṃ̀ mééya = ọ́ tụ̀rụ̀ ṃ̀ṃ̀ meeyà .

ò nwéghɨ kaṃ̀ byá 'I won't come on any account' (lit. 'there is not that I come').

ànyɨ́ nèékpùdó ókwu aka kà ányɨ́ ghàrá ínye madụ̀ ọ́bì ọ́jọ́ọ 'we use euphemisms, so as not to offend a person' (lit. 'we cover speech over with our hands').

ṃ̀ cọ̀rọ̀ kà ọ́ (=ṃ̀ cọ̀rọ̀ kọ̀ọ́) fụ̀ọ́ṃ̀ nàáhụ́· 'I want to get quit of it

(v) We saw in the second example in (iv) above that the kà-construction can sometimes be re -placed by the THEN-form :-

ọ́ gèétè ánya kɨ́ɨ́ byá = (THEN - form) ọ́ gèétè ánya ɨ́ byá = ọ́ gèé -tè ánya ɨ́ɨ́ byà

But, sometimes the THEN- form cannot be replaced by kà. Thus:- ọ́ byàrà túpú ṃ̀ byá (lit. 'he came, then later, I came') 'he came before I did'.

(j) CONTINUOUS SUBJUNCTIVE

We use kà + the form shown in 8m on Page 45 :- kòógè náágá ' may the time pass quickly!'.

(k) 'MAY I...?' : 'OUGHT I...?'

(i) If we consider the THEN-form in 15e.iii on Page 64, and in 15f.ii on the same page, it is apparent that it is only verbs all of whose tones are H, whi -ch differ in their tones from their imperatives : in all the other verb-types, imperative and

THEN-form coincides, allowing for difference of tone in THEN due to exigences of shifting downwards.

(ii) Owing to this coinciding, if we say that to express 'may I?' 'am I to?', 'ought I to?', we use H subject-pronoun + THEN-form, or alternatively, H subject-pronoun + the imperative, this is equivalent to saying 'in the case of verbs all of whose tones are H, we employ the two alternative constructions just mentioned : in the case of the remaining verb-types, we em-ploy the THEN-form'.

(iii) Verbs whose final vowel be-longs to the expansible type, become expanded, but H monosyllabic-verbs do not double last vowel when this belongs to the type which normally doubles (e.g. gáá).

(iv) We can also suffix -nṷ́·, and if this is suffixed to a vowel whi-ch by (iii) above is not doubled(gá instead of gáá), then doubling takes place (gáánṷ́·) :-

(v) Example of H monosyllable
ḿ gaá (imperative) = ḿ gá (THEN-form minus the doubling of the THEN-form) = ḿ gáánṷ́· (THEN-form + nṷ́·) 'may I go?'.

Expansible H monosyllable
ị́zụ 'buying' : ḿ zụọ́ọ́ = ḿ zṷ́ọ = ḿ zṷ́ọ́nṷ́· 'ought I to buy?'.

(vi) Example of L monosyllable
ḿ họọ́ (imperative = THEN-form) = ḿ họọ́nṷ́· 'may I choose?'.

ị́tụ̀ 'aiming' : ḿ tụọ́ọ́ égbè = ḿ tụọ́nṷ́ égbè (12c.iv, Page 54) 'am I to aim the gun?'. ị́ sị̀ ọ́ tụọ́ọ́ égbè 'do you think he ought to aim the gun?' : 'do you say he is to....?'

(vii) Examples of 3rd person
ọ́ gaá = ọ́ gá = ọ́ gáánṷ́· 'may he go?' : 'is he to go?'. ọ́ họọ́=ọ́ họọ́-nṷ́· 'may he choose?'.

(viii) Example of 'We'
ányị́ laá = ányị́ lá = ányị́ láánṷ́· 'may we depart?' : 'let us depart!'

(ix) ígbuji type
ó gbujíé óshíshí (imperative) ó gbújíe óshíshí (THEN-form) = ó gbújíénṷ́· óshíshí 'may he fell the tree?' : 'should he fell the tree?' : 'is he to fell....?' .

ị́gbwata (see iv., Page 43) : - ḿ gbwatáá àla à míri = ḿ gbwátáá àla à míri = ḿ gbwátáánṷ́· àla à míri 'am I to drain this soil?'.

(x) ífụ̀nyụ̀ type
ọ́ fụnyṷ́ọ́ ọ́kụ = ọ́ fụnyṷ́ọ́nṷ́· ọ́kụ 'may he put out the fire?'.

ḿ wefụ̀ égo = ḿ wefụ̀ nṷ́· égo ' 'may I remove the money?'.

(xi) ígbubi type
ḿ gbubiẻẻ ọ́kà = ḿ gbubiẻẻnṷ́· ọ́-kà 'may I lop off the maize?'.

(L) SEE THAT....!

After hṷ́· (L.iii, Page 50) , used in the sense 'see to it that such-and-such a thing is done !', we use the NEE, NAA of 14a.i , 14a.iii, Pages 61, 62 + past tense :-

Examples
hṷ́· néè jìdèrèyá 'see that peo-ple arrest him!'.
hṷ́· nóò jìdèrè há· 'see that he arrest her!'.
hṷ́· nọ́ọ̀ fụ̀nyụ̀rụ̀yá 'see that he extinguish it!'.
hṷ́· nịị̀ fụ̀nyụ̀rụ̀yá 'see that yo-u extinguish it!'.
hṷ́· níìgbùbïrï ọ́kà 'see that you lop off the maize!'.
hṷ́· nààny̧ị́ gbubîrî ọ́kà=hṷ́· náá-nyị́ gbubîrî ọ́kà 'see that we cut off the maize!'.
hṷ́· náḿ gbùbïrï (=hṷ́· nàḿ gbubîrî) ọ́kà 'see that I cut off ma-ize!'.
hṷ́· ná háa· gbùbïrï ọ́kà=hṷ́· nà há· gbubîrî ọ́kà 'see that they cut off the maize!'.

18. THE AGENT

The agent is formed by prefi

-xing o-, ọ- to the verb-root in accordance with A.5a on Page 4.

Examples (a)

ị́gbwá ạ̀jà 'sorcery' : ọ̀gbwáàjà 'sorcerer, magician'.

ị́nụta 'hearing and bringing' : ọ̀nụ́tá ákụ́kọ́ 'newspaper reporter'.

ígbò 'preventing' : ọ̀gụ̀ 'strife' : ògbó ọ̀gụ̀ 'arbitrator, umpire'.

(b) In some compounds, HL noun as 2nd element of a genitive becomes LL :-

Examples

ị́kwa 'repairing' : ákwà 'cloth' : ọ̀kwá àkwà 'tailor'.

ígbu 'killing' : ázụ̀· 'fish' : ògbúu ạ̀zụ̀· 'fisherman'.

ị́kụ 'hitting' : ṅgwọ̀ 'palmwine': ọ̀kụ́ ṅgwọ̀ 'wine-tapper'.

ị́dụ 'sewing' : ọ̀dụ́ àkwà 'tailor'

(c) Some agents have final falling glide from H to M :-

Examples

íde 'writing' : òdée akwụkwọ = ò-dáakwụkwọ 'clerk' (ákwụ́kwọ́ 'book'

ị́cị 'ruling' : ónyé ọ̀cị́ị ọ·rụ·' supervisor of work'. ọ̀cị́ị nììgwè kọ̀ó bụ̀ 'he is one who has powers of control over the public'.

íje 'going' : ózí 'a message' : ọ̀ọ̀ ọ̀jée ozi 'he's an official'.

(d) Some agents prefix ò- , ọ̀- : òjì ọ́nụ· 'person who uses his mouth for some purpose'.

ị́kpọ 'calling' : ọ̀ọ̀ ọ̀kpọ̀ ónyé kpọya (lit. 'he's the leader of th-e person who leads him') 'Jack th-inks himself as good as his master'. N.B. kpọya expresses 'state', its suffixed -ya being modelled on ọ́ kaṃ (top Page 53).

19. INTERROGATIVES

(a) (i) The interrogative tenses differ from the affirmative tenses only in the fact that the former have lowtoned subject-pronouns :-

Examples

ṃ̀ shìrì 'did I cook?'. ì shìrì 'did you cook?'. ò shìrì 'did he (she) cook?'. ànyị̀ shìrì 'did we cook?'. ùnù shìrì 'did you fo-lk cook?'. hà· shìrì 'did they cook?'. è shìrì 'did people cook?'.

ị̀ nàázà 'do you sweep?'. ọ̀ nèè-bú 'does he carry?'. ị̀ názà ' are you sweeping?'. hà· nèdé ' are they writing?'. ị̀ nàgwáṃ nả ị́ nàjụ́ ímeya 'are you actually telling me that you refuse?'.

ọ̀ gààrị́ 'will he climb?'.ṃ̀ gàà-gá 'shall I go?'. ọ̀ gèègbújí ó-shíshí 'will he fell the tree?'. ọ̀ gàjè ị́bya 'is she about to come?'.

ọ̀ byálá 'has it come?'. ò shíé-lé ṅri 'has she cooked the food ?'. N.B. Except madụ̀ (Page 23) , Ibo words do not begin with M,so after the lowtoned ò etc., the M tones of the affirmative like ó shiele 'she has cooked' become H in the interrogative :- ò shí-élé ṅri 'has she cooked the food?'.

(ii) The L subject-pronoun is inserted after a noun-subject :-

Examples

ézè ọ̀ byàrà 'did the king come ?'. ákwụ́kwọ́ ọ̀ byàrà 'did the book arrive?'.

égwù ṃ́mụọ ọ̀ nátụ́gị 'are you fe-eling afraid of seeing a ghost?

ọ́ dị̀ kà í·hyé·ṃ ọ̀ másịrịyá 'he seems to like me' (lit. 'it is as if my affair pleases him (don't you think?)'.

(b) Conditional sentences (16, Page 0) with interrogative 2nd clause

díbyà gwọ́hyeé, ò gèèsí òwèrè láá (Page 72, foot Column 1) 'if a doctor makes a wrong diagnosis , will he leave by the backyard and make himself scarce?'.

(c) INHERENT INTERROGATIVE

When an inherently interrogative word like gị́nị 'what?' sta

-nds after its verb, then the verb is interrogative :-

Examples (i)
ò mèrè gı̨́nı̨ 'what did he do?'.
è jì mánu̧. è mé gı̨́nı̨ (6 on Page 21) 'what is oil used for?' (lit. 'one uses oil while doing what?' : 14a, Page 61) = è jì mánu̧. neèmé gı̨́nı̨ .

ò bì òlée 'where does he live?'.
ò bù̧ òlée m̨̀gbè 'when will it take place?'. ì tètàrà òlée m̨̀gbè 'when did you awake?'.

(ii) inherent interrogative preceding verb

Examples
gı̨́nı̨ kèé jì mánu̧. è mé 'what is oil used for?' (lit. 'while doing what is it that one uses oil?') = gı̨́nı̨ kèé jì mánu̧. neèmé .

èbée kìí jèrè 'where did you go?' . ébóole (=òléebe) kà ó bì 'where does he live?'.

m̨̀gboòlè (=òlée m̨̀gbè) kọ̀ọ́ byàrà 'when did he come?'. òlée m̨̀gbè í tètàrà 'when did you awake?'.

(iii) After a noun-subject, the ò, ọ̀ (19a.ii above) can be either inserted or omitted when inherently interrogative word follows :-

àgbwàmàákwú̧kwọ́ bù̧ (=ọ̀ bù̧) òlée m̨̀gbè 'when does the wedding take place?'.

= òlée m̨̀gbè kà àgbwàmàákwú̧kwọ́ bù̧?

(d) See Addenda 26. See z.xiv, Page 90.

20. BENEFIT FORMS

(a) We have forms to indicate (i) an act benefiting the doer of the act. (ii) an act benefiting the person to whom the act is done.

(b) In the past tense for benefit of the doer, all verbs double their internal vowel even if for some reason, they do not double in other tenses.

Examples of past : benefit of doer
i. H monosyllable
ó gbùùrù ényí 'he killed an elephant for himself'. ọ́ zù̧ù̧rù̧ ákwà 'he bought cloth for himself'.

ii. L monosyllable
ọ́ bù̧ù̧rù̧ óshíshí 'he uprooted a tree for himself'. ı̨́dà'falling' : ọ́ dààràm̨̀ nííshí = ọ́ dàrà nííshím̨ 'it fell on my head'.

iii. ígbuji type
ḿ̨ gbùjììrì óshíshí 'I felled the tree for myself'. iv. ı̨́fù̧nyù̧ type :- ànyı̨́ fù̧nyù̧ù̧rù̧ ọ́kụ́ 'we extinguished the fire for ourselves'.

v. íwefụ̀ type :- únù wéfù̧ù̧rù̧ égo 'you people removed the money for yourselves'. vi. ígbubi type :- há. gbubiiri ọ́kà 'they cut off the maize for themselves.

(c) imperative benefiting doer

(i) We suffix the -r of H.3 on Page 35, without doubling of vowels or expansion.

ii. Example of H monosyllable
gburú ényi 'kill the elephant for yourself!'. zụrụ́ ákwà 'buy a cloth for yourself!'.

iii. These benefit-forms affect the next noun in so far as their prototypes do. So, as the past tense(ó gbùrù ényí 'he killed the elephant') does not affect the next noun (3d, Page 36) , neither does ó gbùùrù ényí 'he killed the elephant for himself'.

But the imperative (8L, Page 45) affects the next noun(gbuoó ényi 'kill the elephant'(ényí)' , hence the benefit- imperative also affects it (gburú ényi) ' kill the elephant for yourself!

iv. Examples of L monosyllable.
bụrụ́ óshíshí 'uproot the tree for yourself!'. íwè 'taking' : weréya 'take it for yourself!'.

v. ı̨́fù̧nyù̧ type :- fụnyụ́rụ́ ọ́kụ 'extinguish the fire for yourself!'. vi. íwefụ̀ type :- wéfụrụ́

égo 'remove the money for yourse -lf!'. vii. ígbubi type :-gbúbirí ọkà 'cut off the maize for yourself!'. viii. See (e) below.

(d) Subjunctive benefiting doer

We lower the forms of (c) above one pitch :-

i. Example of H monosyllable

yá (=ó) gbùrú ényi 'he must ki -ll an elephant (ényí) for himse -lf!'. yá (=ọ́) zụ̀rụ́ ákwà 'let him buy cloth for himself!'.

ii. L monosyllable :- yá bụ̀rụ́ óshíshí 'he should uproot the tree for himself!'.

iii. ígbuji type :- imperative: gbujírí óshíshí 'fell the tree for yourself!'. subjunctive :- yá gbùjírí óshíshí 'let him fell a tree for himself!'.

(v above) ọ́ fụ̀nyụ́rụ́ ọ́kụ 'he is to put out the fire for himself! '. (vi above) ó wefụ̀rụ́ égo 'he must remove the money for himself!'. (vii above) yá gbubírí ọ́-kà 'let him cut off the maize for himself!'.

(e) Insert at end of (c) above in Line 4 of this column:- (vii) Compound verbs ofwhich the 2nd component is íwe 'begin to ' (k.viii, Page 49) form a special class to themselves as we see in **21b.vii, Page 82. ísèwè 'start pulling' : serówóya 'proceed to drag it along for yourself!'. ífụ̀nyụ̀wà 'starting to extinguish' : fụnyụ́rụ̀wá ọ́kụ 'proceed to extinguish the fire for yourself!'**

We see that here, the verb íwe has been separated from the 1st verb of the compound and -r- interposed between them.

(f) 'MAY I...?' : 'SHOULD...I?

We suffix the -r- of H.3 on Pa -ge 35 to the THEN-forms minus any doubling or expansion they may have and then proceed as explained in 17k.ii on Page 76.

i. H monosyllable

ó gbúrú ényi = ó gbúrúmụ́. ényi= ó gburú ényi = ó gburúmụ́. ényi ' may he kill an elephant for himse -lf?'.

ii. L monosyllable

ó bụrụ́ óshíshí = ó bụrụ́mụ́. oshí -shí 'is he to uproot a tree for himself?'.

iii ígbuji type :- ó gbújírí ó-shíshí = ó gbújírímụ́. óshíshí = ó gbujírí óshíshí = ó gbujírímụ́. ó-shíshí 'may he fell the tree for himself?'.

iv ífùnyù type :- ọ́ fụnyụ́rụ́ ọ́-kụ = ọ́ fụnyụ́rụ́mụ́. ọ́kụ 'may he extinguish the fire for himself?

v íwefù type :- ọ́ wéfụrụ́ égo = ọ́ wéfụrụ́mụ́. égo 'am I to remove the money?'.

vi ígbubi type :- ọ́ gbúbírí ọ́kà = ọ́ gbúbírímụ́. ọ́kà 'may I lop off the maize?'.

(g) VERBAL NOUN : SELF-BENEFIT

We suffix the -r- of H.3 (Page 35) to VN 1 or 2 according to whi -ch of the verbal nouns the particular construction requires :-

íkpere Cuku 'the worshipping God'. íbìnàrà égo 'the borrowing money'. ọ́dí à á gaghị ezùrú anyị 'these will not suffice us'.

ó jì ọ́nụ́. àkpáfụ̀rụ́-moogwu 'he tried to soften the bad news fo -r me' : 'he did his best to ta -ke the sting out the bad news he communicated to me'.

íkwa ọ́kà kàọ́ jì ébìrí gàrí 'I earn my livelihood by carpentry ' (gàrí 'flour') See Addenda 23.

(h) PRESENT CONTINUOUS AND HABITUAL : SELF-BENEFIT

We suffix the -r- of H.3 (Page 35) to the forms in 6 on Page 40 and 5 on Page 38 respecti -vely :-

Examples

i. H monosyllable
verb íkpe : ǫ́ nèèkpéré ḿmụǫ 'he worships a fetish'. ǫ́ nèkpéré ḿmụǫ 'he is worshipping the fetish'.

ii. L monosyllable
ǫ́ nàázàrá ụ́lǫ̀ 'he sweeps his house to clean it for himself'. ǫ́ nazárá ụ́lǫ̀ 'he's sweeping his house to make it clean for himself'.

iii ígbuji type :- ǫ́ nègbújírí óshíshí 'he's felling a tree for himself'.

iv ígụ̀nyụ̀ type :- ǫ́ nàáfụ̀nyụ́rụ́ ǫ́kụ 'he extinguishes the fire for himself'. ǫ́ nafụ̀nyụ́rụ́ ǫ́kụ 'he is extinguishing the fire for himself'.

v. It will have been noticed that these benefit-forms affect the tone of the next noun just as their prototypes do e.g. ǫ́ nafụ̀nyụ́ ǫ́kụ 'he's extinguishing the fire' (6d, Page 41).

vi íwefụ̀ type :- ǫ́ nèwéfụ̀rụ́ ǫ́-kà 'he's removing the maize fo-r himself'. ǫ́ nèwéfụ̀cárá ǫ́kà 'he's removing all the maize for himself'.

vii ígbubì type :- ǫ́ nègbúbìrí ǫ́kà 'he is cutting off the maize for himself'.

(j) FUTURE : SELF-BENEFIT

We suffix the -r- of H.3 (Page 35) to the future (9 on Page 45). This form affects the tone of the following noun as does its protorype, the future:- ǫ́ gèèshírí ṅri 'he'll cook food (ṅrí) for himself'.

(k) PERFECT SELF-BENEFIT

(i) We insert the -r- of H.3 (Page 35) BEFORE -le, -la*. This form affects tonee of the next word as does its prototype the perfect. * See 20e, Page 79.

(ii) As in 10e (Page 47), vowels which cannot expand, double th-eir final vowel before -le, -la.

(iii) Expansible vowels (8b.iv, Page 42) alternatively expand or become doubled without expansion.

Examples
ḿ meereleyà 'I have done it for myself'.

ḿ gbujierele oshishi = ḿ gbujii-rile oshishi 'I have felled the tree for myself'.

ídoli 'the putting away' : ḿ dolierele egòḿ = ḿ doliirile egòḿ 'I have put away my money'.

ḿ cọfụ̀tárá ná ó zuoroleyà = ḿ cọfụ̀tárá ná ó zuuruleyà 'I found out that he had stolen it' (10f, Page 47).

ó gbuorole enyì = ó gbuurule enyì 'he has killed the elephant for himself'.

ịbụ̀ 'uprooting' : ǫ́ bụǫǫ́rǫ́lá óshíshí = ǫ́ bụụ́rụ́lá óshíshí 'he has uprooted the tree for himself'. See Addenda 24.

ịgafètà 'crossing over to' : ǫ́ gafètárálá anyị 'he has joined ou-r side'. N.B. By k.iii on Page 49, verbs in -ta cannot double.

(L) (i) Some individual verbs do not double in the perfect-benefit :- íkwe 'agreeing' : ḿ kwere-la ịlànụ̀· 'I am willing to go'.

(ii) Verbs are unchanged before -gawa. Thus :- ịrụ· 'working' : ǫ́ rụ·rụ·la gawa 'he's working on incessantly' (NOT ǫ́ rụǫ·rọ·la). See Addenda 32.

(m) THEN-FORMS : SELF-BENEFIT

We suffix the -r- of H.3 (Page 35) to the forms in 15 (Page 63), but without expansion or doubling. These self-benefit forms affect the tones of the next noun just as their prototypes in 15 do:-

(i) Examples
ǫ́ byàrà shírí ṅri 'he came and

then cooked food for himself'.

ó gàrà ọgàáhụ̀· gbúrú ónyi 'he we -nt there and killed the elephant'

ó byàrà bụ̀rụ́ óshíshí 'he came an -d uprooted the tree'.

ó jìrì ágbúgbú gbújírí óshíshí ' he took an axe and felled a tree for himself'.

ó jìrì ọmíri fụ̀nyụ́rụ́ ọ́kụ 'he used water to extinguish the fire fo -r himself'.

ó jìrì ìgbé wefụ̀rụ́ égo 'he remov -ed the money for himself in a box

ó jìrì ọ́mà gbúbirí ọ́kà 'he used a knife to cut off maize for himse -lf'.

(ii) 'IF' IN BENEFIT-SENTENCE

Examples

ónyé à 'this person' : ónyé à wè -cáá, íbèyá è wèré = ónyé à wècáá, íbèyá é wèré (iv on Page 48) = ótú ónye wècáá, íbèyá è wèré 'if one takes, the other will take'.

ọ́ wècáá, íbèọ́ è (=é) wèré 'if I take, the other will take' (íbè ' companion').

ónyé à shícáá, íbèyá e shiri 'if one cooks, the other will cook'(i) on Page 48.

ónyé à tụcáá égbè, íbèyá à tụ̀rụ́ (=íbèyá á tụ̀rụ́) 'if one aims a gun . then the other will also aim'.

ónyé à gbújícáá óshíshí, íbèyá e gbujiri 'if one cuts down a tree , so will the other'.

ónyé à fụ̀nyụ́cáá ọ́kụ, ibèyá à fụ̀nyụ́rụ́ (=ibèyá á fụ̀nyụ́rụ́) 'if one ex -tinguishes the fire, so will the other also'.

ónyé à wéfụcáá égo, ibèyá e wefụ̀rụ́ 'if one removes the money, so wi -ll the other'.

ónyé à gbúbicáá ọ́kà, íbèyá e gbubirí 'if one cuts off maize, so wi-ll the other'.

íbèọ́ wècáá, ọ́ wèré (=ọ́ọ́ wèré) 'if the other takes, I'll take'.

ọ́ rụ́.cáá ọ́·rụ́· à, ọ́ rụ́·rụ́· ọ́·-rụ́· áhụ̀. 'if I do this work, he will do that work'.

21. ANOTHER'S BENEFIT

(a) PAST TENSE

We double the internal vowel as in 20b (Page 78). Expansible vowels (8b.iv, Page 42) alternati -vely expand or double.

Examples of H monosyllables

ó mèérè-máámàrà 'he was lenient to me'.

ó gbùùrù-méényí = ó gbùòrò- méé -nyi 'he killed the elephant for me'.

ó zụ̀ụ̀rụ̀-máákwà = ó zụ̀ọ̀rọ̀-máákwà 'he bought me a cloth'.

L monosyllable :- ó bụ̀ụ̀rụ̀-móósh -ishí = ó bụ̀ọ̀rọ̀-móóshíshí 'he uprooted a tree for me'.

iii ígbuji type :- ó gbùjìirì-móóshíshí = ó gbùjìèrè-móóshíshí' he cut down a tree for me'.

20b, Page 78 applies here also: - ítinye 'inserting' : ó tìnyèè-rèọ́ yá nìigbé 'he put it in the box for me' (see (i) on Page 49). ízitè 'sending to' : ó zitèèrèọ́ létà 'he sent me a letter' (see (iii) on Page 49).

iv ífụ̀nyụ type :- ó fụ̀nyụ̀ụ̀rụ̀-gọ́ọ́kụ = ó fụ̀nyụ̀ọ̀rọ̀-gọ́ọ́kụ 'he extinguished the fire for you'.

v íwefụ̀ type :- ó wefụ̀ụ̀rụ̀- yéé -go 'he removed the money for her '. vi ígbubi type :- ó gbubiiri há· ọ́kà = ó gbubiérè há· ọ́kà 'he cut off the maize for them'.

(b) IMPERATIVE BENEFITING ANO -THER

We suffix the -r- of H.3 (Page 35) and apply the rules of 21a above to the imperative (8 on Pa -ge 42) :-

1. Example of H monosyllable

gbuúrú-meenyi = gbuoóró-meenyi 'kill the elephant for me!'. meé

-rém ya 'do it for me!'. See x.

ii. L monosyllable
bụụrụ́-mooshishi = bụọọrọ́-mooshi
—shi 'uproot the tree for me!'.

iv ígbuji type :- gbujíírí-mooshishi = gbujíéré-mooshishi 'fell the tree for me!'. v ífụnyụ type fụnyụ́ụrụ́-mọọkụ = fụnyụọ́rọ́-mọọkụ ' extinguish the fire for me!'.

vi íwefụ-type :- wéfụrụ́-meegò ' remove the money for me!'(=same form as in 20c.vi, Page 78).

vii. Compound verbs whose 2nd component is íwe 'begin to', follow the above model :- sewéréya ' proceed to pull for him!' : sewé -réya ígbé à 'drag this box along for her!'. fụnyụ́wáráya 'proceed to extinguish for him!' : fụnyụ́wá -ráya ọkụ 'extinguish the fire for him!'. Compare with this, the forms in 20e, Page 79.

viii ígbubi type :- gbúbiírí-mọọká = gbúbieéré-mọọká 'cut off the maize for me!'.

ix. We saw in the N.B. to last example in 20k.iii, Page 80 (ígafètá) that verbs which cannot ex -pand or double by 10k-10m (Pages 49-52) cannot expand or double in self-benefit. The same applies wh -en such verbs are used in benefit of another :-

Examples
tinyéré ya niigbé 'put it in (k.i on Page 49) the box for me!' . N.B. As there is no expansion or doubling in such verbs, there is no difference of form distinguishing the self-benefit from the form denoting another's benefit : hence, in this verb, the fo -rm for self-benefit would also be tinyéré modelled on the imperative gbujírí (20d.iii, Page 79).

These remarks do not however, affect the past tense,as pointed out in 21a.iii, Page 81 where we see ó tìnyèèrèm yá nìigbé 'he put it in the box for me'.

Further example of imperative, which cannot expand :- verb ízìgá : zigáráya letá 'send him a letter!' (k.xv on Page 50).

gbwanyérém ya niitè =gbwaírím ya niitè 'pour it into the pot for me!' (see 5b.iv, Page 5 : 10k.ii, Page 49).

(x) Add to (i) in Line 1 of the opposite column :- gaárá-moozi 'go on an errand (ózi) for me!'.

(c) SUBJUNCTIVE BENEFITING ANOTHER

We lower the forms of 21b above one pitch :-

i. H monosyllable
yá gbùúrú-meenyi = yá gbùòórómeenyi 'he must kill the elephant for me!'. ọ́ gàárá-moozi 'he is to go on an errand for me!'. yá gàárági ọkọọmá 'may things go well with you!'.

ii. L monosyllable
yá bụụrụ́-mooshishi = yá bụọọrọ́-mooshishi 'let him uproot the tree for me!'.

iii ígbuji type :- yá gbùjíírí-mo -oshishi = yá gbùjíéré-mooshishi ' he must fell the tree for me'. ífụnyụ type :- yá fụnyụ́ụrụ́-mọọkụ = yá fụnyụọ́rọ́-mọọkụ 'he must extinguish the fire for me!'.

v íwefụ type :- yá wefụrụ́-meegò ' 'let him remove the money for me!'. vi ígbubi type :- yá gbubiírí-mọọká =yá gbubiéeré-mọọká 'he is to cut off maize for me!'.

(d) 'May I...?' : 'should...?'.

This is based on 20f (Page 79) , but we double the internal vowel : expansible vowels (8b.iv, Page 42) alternatively expand or double :-

i. H monosyllable
ó gbúúrúmụụ·mèènyì = ó gbúórómụụ·mèènyì = ó gbuúrúmụụ·mèènyì = ó gbu

-oórónụ́ụ·mèènyì 'may he kill the elephant for me?'.

ọ́ bụụ́rụ́nụ́ụ·mòòshìshì = ọ́ bụọọ́rọ́-nụ́ụ·mòòshìshì 'may he uproot the tree for me?'.

ọ́ zụ́ụ́rụ́nụ́ụ·mììhyè· = ọ́ zụ́ọ́rọ́-nụ́ụ·mìì·hyè· 'may he buy me something?'.

ó gbújíírínụ́ụ·mòòshìshì = ó gbú-jíérénụ́ụ·mòòshìshì 'may he cut down the tree for me?'.

ḿ fụnyụ́ụ́rụ́nụ́ụ·yọ̀ọ̀kụ̀ = ḿ fụnyụ́ọ́-rọ́nụ́ụ·yọ̀ọ̀kụ̀ 'must I extinguish a fire for him?'.

ànyị́ wéfụrụ́nụ́ụ·gèègò 'are we to remove the money for you?'.

há· gbúbiírínụ́ụ·mọ̀ọ̀kä = há· gbú-bieérénụ́ụ·mọ̀ọ̀kä 'may they cut off the maize for me?'.

(e) ANOTHER'S BENEFIT : VN

This has the same form as 20g (Page 79) :- VN 1 ínyere-yaaka 'the helping him'. ímere- maåmårå 'the showing me lenience'.

VN 2 is used in forming continu-ous and habitual, so see ázàrá : ènyéré etc. in (f) below.

(f) ANOTHER'S BENEFIT : CONTINUOUS AND HABITUAL

This has the same form as 20h (Page 79) :-

Examples

ọ́ nènyéré-maaka 'he's helping me'. ọ́ nazårá-mụụlọ̀ 'he's sweeping my house for me'. ọ́ nàázàrá- mụụlọ̀ 'he sweeps my house for me'. ísọfụ̀ 'respecting' : ọ́ nààsọ́fụ̀rụ́ ńḍị́ mụ-rụyà 'he's dutiful to his parents'. See (h) below.

(g) ANOTHER'S BENEFIT : FUTURE

We use the same form as 20j (Page 80) :- ọ́ gèènyéré-maaka 'he will help me'. verb :- ígbwaghå : ḿ gààgbwághàrágị 'I'll pardon you'

(h) Habitual of -ka verbs (5f, Page 39) :- ọ́ náànáráká madụ̀ 'he is very friendly'. Note that -ra- stands between the 1st verb and -ka

(j) ANOTHER'S BENEFIT : PERFECT

Unlike 20k (Page 80), the -r- of H.3(Page 35), stands AFTER -le, -la. This form affects the tones of the next word as do all forms in 20, 21 derived from proto-types which affect the tones of the following noun :-

H monosyllable

ó meelerem̀ yà 'he has done it for me' (non-expansible verb). ó gbuulere-mèènyì = ó gbuolere-mèènyì 'he has killed the elephant for me' (expansible verb).

L monosyllable

ọ́ bụụ́lárá-mooshishi = ọ́ bụọọ́lára-mooshishi 'he has uprooted the tree for me'.

N.B. Owing to the difficulty of placing the -r- before or after, confusion often arises : thus in the following example, logic would presuppose zìgáláráya, but we have :- é zìgáráláya i·hye·ṇkèsí kọ̀ọ́ bụ́rụ́ ònyìnyé màkà ḿgbwá-shí íkeya 'a gift has been sent to him so that it may be a tribute to his bravery' (ònyìnyé 'gift' : màkà 'concerning').

(k) ANOTHER'S BENEFIT. THEN....

These are the same forms as used in 21d above (Page 82) minus -nụ́ụ·

i. H monosyllable

ọ́ byàrà, gbúúrú-meenyi 'he came and then killed an elephant for me' = ọ́ byàrà gbúóró-meenyi.

ii. L monosyllable

ị́ byàrà bụụ́rụ́-mooshishi = ị́ byàrà bụọọ́rọ́-mooshishi 'you came and felled a tree for me'.

iii. Further example for i. ó mèrè byá dụ́ịrị́-muukwů 'he came and unexpectedly helped me' (lit. 'sewed the waist for me').

iv. ígbuji type :- ó jìrì égbú-gbú gbújíírí-mooshishi 'he took an axe and felled a tree for me'.

v. ífụ̀nyụ̀ type :- ó jìrì m̀míri fụ̀nyụ́ụ́rụ́-mọọkụ = ó jìrì m̀míri, fụ̀ -nụ́ọ́rọ́-mọọkụ 'he extinguished the fire for me with water'.

vi Add to iv above :- = ó jìrì égbúgbú gbújíéré-mooshishi .

vii. íwefụ̀ type :- é jìrì ìgbé wefụ̀rụ́-meegò 'he removed the money for me in a box'.

viii. ígbubi type :- únù jìrì m̀mà gbúbiírí-mọọkả = únù jìrì m̀mà gbúbieéré-mọọkả 'you people lopped off the maize with a knife'.

ix. Verbs which cannot double or expand have the same form for another's benefit as for self-ben -efit :- ọ́ chọ̀rọ̀ kàm̀ nyéré -yaaka 'he wished me to help him' (lit. 'he sought that I give him a hand'

22. THE NEGATIVE

(a) PAST TENSE.

(i) The subject-pronouns are 1 . (ii) We suffix -GHỊ . (iii) H mono -syllables and verbs formed from a combination of verbs all of which are H monosyllables have HM, HMM , HMMM tonesin the negative past.(iv) All other compound verbs have to -nes H + L, H + LL etc.

(iv) The negative tenses do not affect the tone of the next noun.

(v) PRONOUN-SUBJECT

vi. H monosyllable

N.B. The negative past serves also as the negative perfect and nega -tive pluperfect :-

m̀ gághị 'I did not go'. 'I have not gone'. 'I had not gone'. ị̀ gághị 'you did not go'. ọ̀ gághị 'he didn't go'. ò shíghị 'she didn't co -ok'. hà· gághị 'they didn't go'. à gághị 'nobody went'. è shíghị 'no cooking was done'.

vii. L monosyllable

m̀ dághị̀ 'I did not fall'. ò séghị̀ 'he did not pull'.

viii ígbuji type :- hà· gbújighị oshishi 'they did not fell the tree

ix ífụ̀nyụ̀ type :- ọ̀ fụ́nyụ̀ghị̀ ọ́kụ́ 'he has not extinguished the fire'.

x íwefụ̀ type

ò wéfụ̀ghị̀ égo 'she did not remove the money'. ígbubi type :- m̀ gbúbìghị̀ ọ́kà 'I have not cut off the maize'.

(b) NEGATIVE + VERBS STRENGTHENING THE NEGATIVE SENSE

(i) -kwa 'again' :- ọ̀ dị́kwaghị anya 'it is no longer far'. ọ̀ bụ́kwaghị ṅgaả 'it's no longer here'. ị́bọ 'weeding' :- m̀ bọ́kwa -ghị ọ·rụ· 'I no longer weeded the farm'.

(ii) L verb + -kwa

ị́bọ̀ 'dismembering a carcase': m̀ bọ́kwàghị̀ ánụ́. 'I no longer cut up the carcase'.

(iii) -bè 'never' :- ị́ga 'go-in[illegible]' : m̀ gábèghị̀ 'I've never go -n[illegible]. ísè 'pulling' : ò sébeghị̀ [illegible]he has never pulled'. m̀ bọ́-[illegible]èghị̀ 'I have never weeded' (ị́bọ)' : 'I have never cut up'(ị́bọ̀).

(c) PRONOUN-OBJECTS

(i) These follow -GHỊ . (ii) After past negative ending in L tone, the pronoun-object is H :-

Examples

ọ̀ fụ́nyụ̀ghị̀yá 'he didn't extinguish it'. ò séghị̀m̀ 'she did not pull me'. m̀ wéfụ̀ghị̀yá 'I haven't removed it'. ò séghị̀ há· 'you didn't pull them'.

N.B. As in 12o (Page 57), the objective-pronouns are polarised but this is not so in c.ii below

(ii) After past negative ending in M tone, the objective pro -nouns have the same tone :-

Examples

m̀ hụ́·ghụ·gị 'I didn't see you '. ị̀ hụ́·ghụ·m̀ 'you didn't see me '. hà· é shighịya 'they did not

cook it'.

ọ̀ mátaghịya 'he didn't get to kn-ow it'. ọ̀ mátaghịm̩ 'he didn't get to know me'. ọ̀ mátaghịgị 'she did not get to know you'.

m̩̀ gwábèghịyá 'I never told him'.

(iii) ò séghị ànyị́ (22a.iv, Page 84) = ò séghị ányị 'he has not pulled us'. ị̀ hụ́·ghị ányị́ = ị̀ heughị anyị 'you did not see us'. ọ̀ hụ́·ghị unù 'he did not see people'

(d) IMPERSONAL NEGATIVE PAST

è kwétaghịm̩ sị ị låá 'I did not agree to your going'. è nwéghị hå·íké ímeya 'they do not know how to do it'.

(two objects) à nọ́ghịm̩̀ yá m̩̀gbe ọ́ byàrà 'I was not there when he came

(e) NEGATIVE PAST WITH NOUN-SUBJECT

i. H monosyllable : noun ending H
ényí á gaghị 'the elephant didn't go'. ényìḿ̩ é shighị 'my friend did not cook'.

ii. H monosyllable:noun ending L
ézè á gaghị 'the king has not gone'. ézè é shíghị 'the king did not cook'. ányị́ á gaghị = ányị á gághị' we do not know'. ànyị́ nòònwé anyị a màghị 'we ourselves don't know'.

iii. H monosyllable : noun M
ọ́kịta a gàghị 'the dog didn't go'. nwóke e shìghị 'the man did not cook'. íyí é rughị ọsọọ̀sọ̀ 'the river did not flow fast' (B.5c.iv,Page 14). íyi 'river'.

iv. L monosyllable : noun -H
ényí á dàghị 'the elephant didn't fall'. ényìḿ̩ é sèghị 'my friend did not pull'.

v. L monosyllable : noun M
ọ́kịta a dåghị 'the dog did not fall'. nwóke e sèghị 'the man did not pull'. éze 'tooth' : ézé á mị̀ghịḿ̩ 'my tooth did not ache'.

vi. L monosyllable : noun -L
ézè á dàghị 'the king didn't fall'. únù á dàghị 'you people did not fall'.

vii. ígbuji type : noun -H
ényìḿ̩ é gbujighị oshishi 'my friend did not fell the tree'. viii. ígbuji type : noun M :- nwóke e gbùjìghị̀ òshìshì 'the man did not fell the tree'. ix. ígbuji type : noun -L :- ézè é gbujighị oshishi 'the king did not fell the tree'. ákéébe å á kwụsịghị ọtọ 'this evidence is not convincing' (lit. 'has not stood upright').

x. ífụ̀nyụ̀ type : noun -M
nwóke a fụ̀nyụ̀ghị ọ́kụ́ 'the man hasn't extinguished the fire'. xi. ífụ̀nyụ̀ type : noun -H :- ény-ìḿ̩ á fụ̀nyụ̀ghị ọ́kụ́ 'my friend did not extinguish the fire'.xii. ífụ̀nyụ̀ type : noun -L :- ézè á fụ̀nyụ̀ghị ọ́kụ́ 'the king didn't ex-tinguish the fire'.

xiii. íwefụ̀ type : noun H
ényìḿ̩ é wefụ̀ghị égo 'my friend didn't remove the money'. ígbubi type has the same forms as íwefụ̀ type :- ényìḿ̩ é gbubighị ọ́kà 'my friend did not cut off the maize'.

xiv. íwefụ, ígbubi types : noun -M :- nwóke e gbùbïghị̈ ọ́kà 'the man did not cut off the maize'. xv. noun -L :- ézè é wefụ̀ghị égo 'the king did not remove the money'.

(f) If an adverb begins the sen-tence, we proceed as in 22a (Page 84), as this does not constitu-te a noun-subject :- ùgbú à. è nwékwaghịm̩ egò 'I now no longer have any money'.

(g) NEGATIVE PAST USED FOR STATE

Sometimes, we find past negative expressing state : in this usage, the A, L used in 22e above is omit-ted. This construction seems to be the negative of

Example
ànyị̀ nwéghị ọnụ̀. nọ̈ọ̈chịchị́ dị́ kà ṇdị́ Bèkéè 'we have no voice in

public administration such as Europeans have'.

(h) OMISSION OF -GHɪ

In proverbs, the negative word -ghɪ is often omitted :-ónyé é nwe, mìíbè é nye 'if a person has not got (money), then his friend does not give him' (see 16L, Page 73). Here, nwe stands for nweghɪ : nye is for nyeghɪ. : see 5b, page 5.

(j) ALTERNATIVE FINAL VOWEL

(i) Alternatively to -ghɪ, in the case of the final-vowel of the following kind, we can repeat such vowel after -gh .

(ii) -o : ísò > ɸ́ sóghɪ̀ = ɸ́ sóghò 'I did not follow'.
(iii) -ǫ : ɪ́chǫ > ɸ́ chǫ́ghɪ= ɸ́ chǫ́ghu 'I did not seek'.
(iii) —u : ísu > ɸ́ búghɪ = ɸ́ búghu 'I did not carry'.
(iv) -ʉ : ísʉ > ǫ́ sʉ́ghɪ (= ǫ́ sʉ́ghʉ) otu á 'it is not thus'.
(v) -ɪ : ísì > ɸ́ bíghɪ̀ =ɸ́ bíghɪ 'I did not cut'.

(k) kà 'as if' (i) + negative :- ó mèrè kǫ̀ǫ̀ (=ó mèrè kà ǫ̀) má -ghɪya 'he pretended not to know it'. (ii) + interrogative (19, Page 77) :- ó mèrè kǫ̀ǫ̀ bʉ́ ónyáágha 'he pretended to be a soldier'.

(L) NEGATIVE PAST : BENEFIT

(i) To express self-benefit, the -r- of H.3 (Page 35) precedes -ghɪ :-

Examples

ɸ́ gbújirighɪ oshishi 'I did not cut down the tree for myself'. ǫ́ náraghɪɸ́ ǫ́kǫ́ǫ́má 'he did not receive me in a friendly manner'.

(ii) To express benefit of another, the -r- follows -ghɪ :-

Examples

ɸ́ gbújighɪrɪ-yooshishi 'I did not fell the tree for him'. ǫ́ nwéghɪrɪ madʉ́ ǫ́bérè 'he has no pity for people'.

(iii) In the affirmative, we use the benefit-form for 'knowing' :- ɸ́ mààràyá 'I know it' : 'I knew it '. But negatived ɪ́ma does not employ the benefit-form :- à mághɪɸ́ nà ǫ́kaà gàáfʉ́tá níímeya 'I didn't know that this would turn out thus'.

(m) INTERROGATIVE-NEGATIVE

We use the negative -ghɪ,but the subject-pronoun has H tone :- ǫ́ bʉ -ghʉ otu o mèrè 'is it not thus that it happened?'.

(n) IN SUCH A WAY THAT

(i) negatively

ǫ́·rʉ́· áhʉ̀· gààrà níí.hú· né nweghɪ ɸ́gbǫ̀chí 'that work proceeded without hindrance' (lit. 'in such a way that people had no obstacle') = ǫ́·rʉ́· áhʉ̀· gààrà níí.hú· nííhì· nǫ̀ǫ̀ nwéghɪ ɸ́gbǫ̀chí (nííhì· nà 'because'). The 1st example actually means 'while it was not possessed of an obstacle' i.e. negative of 14L, Page 63.

ó nyèrè-méégo ne lèghɪ ànyà nàázʉ́· = ó nyèrè-méégo e lèghɪ ànyà naazʉ́· (see Line 13, Page 62) 'he gave me money without the slightest reluctance' (lit. 'while people did not look back'.

(ii) affirmatively

ǫ́·rʉ́· áhʉ̀· gààrà níí·hú· néè-nwé (=è nwé)ɸ́gbǫ̀chí 'that work proceeded smoothly'.See Line 4,Page 62

(o) FUTURE NEGATIVE

(i) Future negative is formed with past negative of ɪ́ga (22a.vi,Page 84) + VN 2 (4 on Page 37). (ii) 'is not about to' is past negative + VN 1 (2g on Page 35).

(iii) future negative affects tone of the next noun, but (ii) above does not.

(iv) Pronoun-subject

H monosyllable

ọ̀ gághı̀ èshí ọ́rı 'I shall not cook food'. ọ̀ gághı̀ èshí ọ́rı ' she'll not cook food'. ỳ gághı̀ àgá 'you will not go'. (ii) ọ̀ gághı̀ ıshì ìrì 'I am not likely to cook food'.

v. L monosyllable

ọ̀ gághı̀ adá 'I shall not fall'. (ii) ọ̀ gághı̀ ıdá 'I'm not about to fall'.

p. Noun-subject

i. Noun ending H

énylṵ́ á gaghı̀ èshí ọ́rı 'my friend will not cook food'. énylṵ́ á gaghı̀ adá 'my friend will not fall'. énylṵ́ á gaghı̀ ègbújí ọ́shí-shí 'my friend will not fell a tree'. ényí á gaghı̀ adá 'the elephant won't fall'.

ii. Noun ending in M tone

nwóke a gàghı̀ ẹ̀shí ọ́rı 'the man will not cook the food'. nwóke a gàghı̀ àrṵ̀nyṵ́ ọ́kụ 'the man will not extinguish the fire'.

iii. Noun ending in L tone

ézè á gaghı̀ ágá 'the king will not go'. ézè á gaghı̀ ègbúbì ọ́kà ' the king will not cut off maize'. ányí (=ányı̀) á gaghı̀ adá 'we shall not fall'. úmù á gághı̀ èshí ọ́rı ' you folk will not cook food'.

(q) IMPERSONAL FUTURE NEGATIVE

màkà Cúkú, à gághı̀-mıımèyà '(I sw-ear) by God that I'll never do it!

(r) FUTURE NEGATIVE : BENEFIT

Self-benefit and another's benefit both use the same form :- énylṵ́ á gaghı̀ èshírí ọ́rı 'my friend will not cook food for myself'. énylṵ́ á gaghı̀ èshírím ọrı 'my friend will not cook food for me'.

(s) PRESENT NEGATIVE AND HABITUAL.

These two tenses both have the sa-me form. (i) We use the past negative of ína 'seeking' or of ídı̀ ' being in a certain state' + VN 2 , this affecting the tone of the next noun. (ii) If we use VN 1, the sense is 'does not want to' : this has no effect on the tone of the next noun.

Examples (i)

ọ̀ nágh̀ı̀ èshí ọ́rı 'I am not eating food'. ọ́ naghı̀ èshí ọ́rı 'am I not eating the food?'. ọ̀ nágh̀ı̀ èkwú ótù ólu = ọ̀ dígh̀ı̀ èkwú ótù ólu 'he does not speak coherently ' (ótù ólu 'one voice').

ọ̀ nágh̀ı̀ ıkwù 'he doesn't wish to speak'. ọ̀ nágh̀ı̀ àcọ́ ínọfè ógè 'he doesn't like staying late'. ọ̀ nágh̀ı̀ èkwétá ókwú ḿ kwùrù 'he is sceptical about the truth of what I said'. ṵ́bọ̀cı̀ níile a nàghı̀ äbṵ́ ọ́cı̀-ọ́cı̀ 'one cannot expect to be lucky every day'.

(ii) noun-subjects

mṵ́ nà yá á naghı̀ èrí ọ́rı 'he and I are not eating food'. mṵ́ nà ámṵ́· ózì. á naghı̀ àkpá 'pork does not agree with me' : 'pork makes me feel queer'.

ùrì ákwa à á naghı̀ ànwṵ́· anwṵ· this dye does not fade' (lit. 'does not fade (ínwṵ·) as to a fading (ànwṵ́·).

ázṵ· ọ́dṵ̀ á naghı̀ àká íshı nòokpòmọ̀ọ̀kṵ́ 'fresh fish doesn't keep during hot weather'. í.hyé· á naghı̀ èjúya anya 'nothing pleases him'.

(t) PRESENT NEGATIVE : IMPERSONAL

à nágh̀ı̀-maàhṵ́· ọ̀tè áká 'I cannot see far' : 'I'm short-sighted

(u) PRESENT NEGATIVE : BENEFIT

Self-benefit and another's benefit have identical forms :- ọ̀ ná-ghı̀ èshírí ọ́rı 'he's not cooking food for himself' : 'he does not cook food for himself'.

ọ̀ nágh̀ı̀ èshírím ọrı 'he is not cooking food for me' : 'he does not cook food for me'.

(v) IMPERATIVE NEGATIVE

(i) We suffix -le, -la to verbs having Group 1 vowels (5 on Page 4), but only -la to verbs having Group 2 vowels.

(ii) There is no expansion or doubling of vowels. The imperative negative does not affect the tone of the next noun.

iii. H monosyllable : Group 1 vowel :- é shile = é shila 'don't cook!'. é shile nụ̀· = é shila nụ̀· 'do not cook, you people!'. é shi-leya nụ̀· = é shilaya nụ̀ · 'don't cook it, you people!'.

iv. L monosyllable : Groups 1 and 2 vowels :- á dàlà 'do not fa-ll!'. é sèlè 'don't pull!'. é sèlè nụ̀· 'you folk, don't pull!'. é sèlèyá 'don't pull it!'.

v. The pronoun-objects have the same tones as 22c, Page 84.

vi ígbuji type :- é gbujile osh-ishi 'do not fell the tree!'. á kpasule-miiwe 'don't annoy me!'.

vii ífụ̀nyụ̀ type :- á fụ̀nyụ̀là ọ́-kụ́ 'do not extinguish the light!'. viii íwefụ̀, ígbubi types :- é wefụ̀lá 'don't remove!'. é wefụ̀lá-yá 'don' remove it!'. é gbubilèyá ' do not cut if off!'.

(w) IMPERATIVE NEGATIVE DEPEN-DENT ON VERB

ịkwàgìdè 'persuading' : ọ́ kwà-gìdèrèm̩ má gala 'he urged me to go'. ọ́ kwàgìdèrèyá yá gala 'he ur-ged him to go'.

ónyé nọ́ọ laràghị, yèjilè niikè ācụ́ 'an unsuccessful claimant must not resort to force' (lit. 'a person for whom it is not to his advantage, let him not use force!

ọ́ kwàgìdèrègị́ gá gala 'he urged you not to go'. ọ́ kwàgìdèrè ànyị́ ányị́ á gala 'he urged us not to go'. ọ́ kwàgìdèrè únù únú a gala 'he urged you people not to go'. ọ́ kwàgìdèrè há· há· á gala 'he ur-ged them not to go'.

ịnyịnyà á dàlà the horse must not fall!'. í·hyé· ḿ̩ náahụ̀·lả ả kụ́-zíérélem̩ me mèkwàlàyà ọ̈zọ́ 'my experience has taught me not to do so again' (lit. 'the thing which I have seen' : see perfect relative).

N.B. These forms arise from the disjunctive pronouns (12f.ii, Page 55) + the A, E of the imperative : so, mụ́ á gala > má gala . yéjile is derived from yá é jile . It will be noticed that unlike 2b (Page 1), no doubling occurs, the form being for example :- má, not máá : yé not yéé

(y) IMPERATIVE NEGATIVE : BENEFIT

(i) To express self-benefit, the -r- of H.3 (Page 35) precedes -ghị: - é gbujirile oshishi 'don't cut do-wn a tree for yourself!'.

(ii) In another's benefit,-r- fol-lows ghị :-é gbujilere-mooshishi ' don't fell a tree for me!'.

(iii) Further example of self-be-nefit :- á kparalatinye naabọ onye ụwả ọ́jọ́ọ 'don't add to a person's t-roubles!' (lit. 'don't stuff th-ings) into the basket of a troubled person (ónyé ụ̀wọ̀ọ́jọ́ọ) and incre-ase (what is already in it)!'.

(z) NEGATIVED VERBAL NOUN

(i) These negative nouns are nouns derived from verbs and are a fus-ion of VN 1 with VN 2.

ii. Derived from H verb

ịsọ anya 'showing respect' : ásọ-ghị anya 'disrespectfulness'. N.B. VN 1 is ịsọ : VN 2 is àsọ́: hence, in ásọghị, we have the tones of VN 1 with the a- prefix of VN 2.

ịma VN 1 'knowing' : ámaghị i·-hye· 'ignorance'.

ịgwụ VN 1 'ceasing' : ụ́rí à dị ágwụghụ agwụ = ụ́rí à dị ágwụ agwụ ' this food is inexhaustible'.

iii. Derived from L monosyllable

VN 1 íbì 'cutting' : Cúkú nàdị́ éb-ighì èbì'God exists eternally'.

iv. Derived from ígbuji type : -

verb ɨ́gwụta :- ó nwèrè ọ́ryà ágwụ -taghị agwụta 'he has incessant illness'.

v. ɨ́fụ̀nyụ̀ type :- ó febárá níí —mé òshìmìrì ná ágbwànyèghị̀ 'he jumped recklessly into the sea'(lit. 'paying no heed').

vi ɨ́gbubi type :- ítufụ̀ ógè ' wasting time' : í nwèrè ímeya et -tùfụ̈ghụ̈ 'you must do it without losing a moment'.

ɨ́.hụ· 'seeing' : í·hyé· à bụ̀ áhụ·bèghị̀ 'this is unique'(lit. 'a thing never yet seen').

ígbugbú 'shaking' (2f.v, Page 35) : ó gbugbúrú íshí 'he refused by shaking his head' : ḿ kwèèrè égbugbúghụ̀ íshí 'I agree unreservedly'.

(z.i) LEST

This resembles a lowered THEN-form :-

i. H monosyllable
lezíé ánya ìì mèè ì·hyè· ā 'take care lest you do this!' : 'be careful not to do this!'. lezíé ánya ìì mèèyà 'take care lest you do it!'. lezíé ánya ìì shìè ọ̀rì 'take care lest you cook the food!'. ɨ́mụ 'sharpening' :lezíé ánya ịị̀ mụ̀ọ̀ ṃmá ā 'take care lest you sharpen this knife!' .

ii. L monosyllable
lezíé ánya ịị̀ dá 'take care not to fall!'. ɨ́mụ̀ 'lighting' : lezíé ánya ịị̀ mụ̀ọ̀ ọ́kụ́ 'take care not to light the fire!'. gaá ùgbú à ọ́ọ̀ fụ̀ kwaágị 'go now or else you'll be late!' (lit. 'lest it (i.e. time) fail you!).

iii. ígbuji type :- lezíé ánya ìì tìwà ïtë 'be careful not to break the pot!'. lezíé ánya ìì gbù -jìè òshìshìshì àhụ̈· 'take care not to fell that tree!'.

égwù nàtụ́ṃ eè jìdèṃ̀ 'fear is assailing me lest I be arrested' = égwù nàtụ́ṃ aá fụ̀ jídéṃ 'I'm afraid that people may proceed to (fụ̂) arrest me'.

iv. Note that where THEN- form would have its objective- pronoun one tone lower than the verb (see jááya 15m, Page 66 : diagram in Column 2 of Page 64), then the objective-pronoun for 'lest' is on the same level as the verb (eè jì -dèṃ̀ in iii above : ìì mèèyà in i above).

v ɨ́fụ̀nyụ̀ type :- égwù nàtụ́ṃ ṃṃ̀ fụ̀nyụ̀ọ̀ ọ́kụ́ 'I am nervous that I may extinguish the fire' = égwù nàtụ́ṃ maá fụ̀nyụ̀ọ̀ ọ́kụ́ .

égwù nàtụ́ṃ haá· fụ̀nyụ̀ọ̀ ọ́kụ́ 'I am nervous lest they extinguish the fire'. égwù nàtụ́ṃ anyị á fụ̀-nyụ̀ọ̀ ọ́kụ́ 'I'm apprehensive lest we extinguish the fire'.

égwù nàtụ́ṃ unu á fụ̀nyụ̀ọ̀ ọ́kụ́ ' 'I am fearful lest you folk put out the fire'.

vi. Unlike 15a.ii, Page 63, the 'lest' construction does not affect tone of the next noun, for se -e ọ̀rì in i above, ọ́kụ́ in ii,v above.

vii ɨ́wefụ̀ type :- égwù nàtụ́ṃ ìì wèfụ̈ égoṃ 'I am anxious lest you remove my money'. égwù nàtụ́ṃ meè wèfụ̈ égogị 'I fear lest I may remove your money'.

égwù nàtụ́ṃ ha· è wèfụ̈ égoṃ 'I am afraid of their removing my cash'.

viii ɨ́gbubi type :- égwù nàtụ́ṃ anyị è gbùbìè ọ́kà 'I fear lest we may cut off the maize'. égwù nàtụ́ṃ unu è gbùbïë ọ́kà 'I fear that you people may lop off some maize

égwù nàtụ́ṃ haà· gbùbïë (=ha· è gbùbïë) ọ́kà 'I'm nervous lest they cut off the maize'.

(z.vii) UNLESS

In clause 1, we use negative past : affirmative 2nd clause has THEN-form (15, Page 63) :-

Examples

mà ọ́ byaghị maà byà= mà ọ́ bya-ghị, ṃ̀ byá = mà ọ́ byaghị, ṃ gàà-byá 'if he doesn't come, then I shall come'.

ọ́ bụ́rụ́ nà má* byaghị, chọkwù-téṃ 'should I not come, look for me!' * = ọ́ bụ́rụ́ nà ṃ́ byaghị....

After mà 'if', unlike 22a.v (where the subject-pronoun has L tone), we have H tone as seen in the examples above.

ónyé á kpọ̀rọ̀ áhà. , mà á hụ.-ghụ.ya, onye ahụ̀. à nwụ́ọ.lá 'a person whose name one has mentio-ned, if one does not (at once) catch sight of him, then it means that he is dead' : 'talk of the devil and he is sure to appear!'.

(z.viii) In the example just above, the action of clause 2 oc-curred in the past and this was expressed by the perfect. When the action of clause 2 refers to the future and is negative, we use future negative.

(z.ix) Further examples of 'un-less' :- mà ó shighi ṇri, ṃ̀ gá-ghị irì 'unless she cooks, I'll not eat'. mà nwúnyèṃ́ é shighi ṇ-ri, ṃ̀ gághị irì 'unless my wife cooks the food, I'll not eat it'

(z.x) L monosyllable
ị́tụ̀ 'aiming' : mà á tụ̀ghụ̀ égbè , á gààgbwáhyè = mà á tụ̀ghụ̀ égbè , áa gbwàhyèé = mà á tụ̀ghụ̀ égbè , à gbwáhyeé 'unless one aims a rifle, one will miss'.

(z.xi) mà í gbujighi oshishi, ọ gàádà =mà í gbujighi oshishi, ọ́ọ dàá = mà í gbujighi oshishi, ọ̀ dàá 'unless you cut down the tree, it will fall'.

(z.xii) ị́fụ̀nyụ̀ type :- mà ṃ́ fụ̀-nyụ̀ghụ̀ ọ́kụ́, ọ́ gèèsú ụ́lọ̀-mọ́ọ́kụ = (2nd clause) óo suo ụlọ̀ -mọ́ọ́kụ = ò súó ụ́lọ̀-mọ́ọ́kụ) 'unless I put out the fire, it'll consume my house'.

(z.xiii) types íwefụ̀ : ígbubi

mà ànyị́ é wefụ̀ghụ̀ égó à, ọ́ gèé fù ányị̀ nááká etc. 'if we do not remove this money, it will become lost to us'.

mà há. gbubighị ọ́kà, ọ́ gèèré ' unless they cut off the maize, it will rot'.

(z.xiv) WHETHER

í nwèrè ímeya mii kwèrè mií kwe-ghị 'you must do it whether you agree or whether you do not agree ' : 'you must do it willy-nilly'.

è nwéghị ike ikwù mà ọ̀ gààbyá 'it is not possible to say wheth-er she will come'.

ṃ̀ mághị mòò kwèrè 'I don't know whether he agreed'.

N.B. These are interrogatives (19 on Page 77).

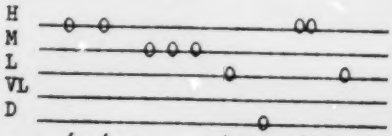
SECTION J. THE RELATIVE.

1. SUBJECT PRECEDING : past.

(a) The 1st clause descends in a series of steps. (b) The verb of the relative sentence affects the tone of the next noun.

(c) H MONOSYLLABIC VERB

(i) ónyé gburu enyì dï mʊ́ʊ́lò ' the person who killed the elephant is in the house'.



ónyé gburu enyì dï mʊ́ʊ́lò

ónyé dɩ niimè ä mʊ́ʊ́·lá 'the pe-rson who is inside has died'. N. B. ónyé dɩ niimè forms a noun-sub-ject, so we follow 10jj,Page 47.

ónyí dɩ mʊʊlò á mʊ́ʊ́·lá 'the elephant which is in the house (B.4d, Page 11) is dead'.

yá bʊ onye gbùrù ènyi 'that is the one who killed the elephant'. ó bʊ̀ ónyé hʊ·rʊ·ʊ̀ 'he is the one who saw me'. ónyé hʊ·rʊ·ɩ̀ nò nɛ́ɛ́-báà 'the one who saw me is here'.

See foot Page 53 :- ónyé nwere .... : ónyé nwe.... : ónyé zʊrʊ e·hì· nyërëɩ̀ yá 'the person who bought the cow gave it to me'.

àkó 'skill' : ónyé nwere àkò ' the person who has skill' (1b above). ʊ̀kpá 'poverty' : ónyé dɩ ʊ̀kpà 'the one who is poor' (1b above).

(ii) COGNATE VN

These relative sentences often employ the cognate accusative . that is to say, they are followed by their own verbal noun :-

Examples

VN 2 àgá : ónyé gara àgà 'the pe-rson who went' (lit. 'the one who went as to a going'.

VN 2 àsɩ̀ 'telling lies' : ónyé sɩrɩ àsɩ̀ (5f, Page 15) 'the person who lied'. ókwú dafʊ̀tàrà ad-áfʊ̀tá 'a remark which slipped out thoughtlessly'. N.B.When the verb is íwefʊ , íɡbubi type, the VN 2 does not change to adafʊ̀tá by 5g, Page 15 (see 12,page 109): that is to say, when the verb is L, it does not affect tone of ne-st noun, whereas when it is M (ónyé gara), it changes àgá into aga etc.

(iii) APPOSITION

Sometimes clause 1 is introduc-ed by a noun which is not the real subject of the clause, but which has a relative clause with its own subject standing in apposition to the introductory noun : in fact, the words 'that is to say' are really to be understood between the 1st noun and the real subject :-

ó nò níishí óche - ɲdɩ̀ nwè ò·-rʊ· 'he is among the directors who are in charge of this work ' (lit. 'he is among those who pre-side in the chair - that is to say - those who are in charge of this undertaking').

N.B. See last example on page 53.

The above sentence means literally 'he is (among) the chairmen, that is to say, those who own this particular job'.

ò nwè ìkó - ʊ́dɩ́ byara taà tíwá-rá mʊ· 'were any of the cups which arrived today broken?'(lit. 'are there any cups - those which arrived today and then became shattered of their own accord?'(THEN for-self-benefit).

(d) NOUN-SUBJECT WITH FINAL M

(i) HM noun as subject of relative clause becomes HH (Section B.5c.iv). So also do the HM nouns of Section C. Page 17 (míri).

Examples

íyı 'river' : íyí ruru ǫsǫǫ̀sǫ̀ kǫ̈ǫ́ bṳ̀ 'it is the river which flo-wed rapidly'.

míri 'water' : mírí mebiri ėmébì 'water which became polluted'.

(ii) The treatment of míri just above is different from its treatment in B.5c.v(b) on Page 14 : so is that of HH noun which by a tone-rule, has become HM (B.5c. v(a), Page 14) : as subject of a relative clause, it returns to HH

Example

ụ́lǫ̀ áhya 'shop' : ò nwéghị ụlǫ̀ áhyá dị ǫ̀sò nèèbàä 'there're no shops near (ǫ̀só) here' : see 3bii page 97.

(iii) But noun + possessive retains its tones :- ụ́gwǫ́ ǫ́nwaṃ byà-rà ë züöólé 'my salary which has arrived is sufficient'.

(iv) nwóke (Addenda 4) retains its tone :- nwóke byàrà bü Ökóyè 'the man who has come is Ökóyè .

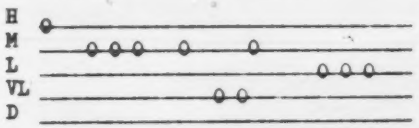
(e) NOUN WITH FINAL L TONE

Final L tone of noun-subje-xt rises to M :-

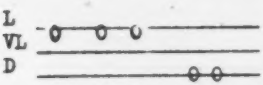
Examples

ḿmà 'knife' : ǫ́kǫ́ 'sharpness' : ḿma dị ǫ̀kǫ̀ 'the knife which is sh-arp' = ḿmàá dị ǫkǫ̀ .

ǫ̀bụ̀là 'whatever' : é kwule i·hye· ǫ̀bụ̀la gbwàsàrà ì·hyè· ò kwürü 'do not refer to what he said!'.



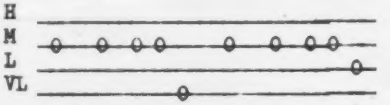
é kwule i·hye· ǫ̀bụ̀la gbwàsàrà



ì·hyè· ò kwürü

íkíké 'power' : ézè 'king': éze nwèrè ìkìkè kǫ̈ǫ́ bṳ̀ 'he is a king who has power'.

í·hyé· ǫ́bụ́là 'no matter what': ǫ̀ mághị i·hye· ǫbụlà gbwåsårå ǫ̀kwů ėnůgwü 'he knows nothing about the affairs of Énúgwu'. N.B. Here, i.hye· ǫbụlå has risen to i·hye· ǫbụlà



i·hye· ǫbụlå i·hye· ǫbụlà

í·hyé· í cèrè 'the thing which you thought' : 'your opinion' : ǫ̀dígh̨ị 'how?' : ǫ̀dígh̨ị i·hye· i cère gbwàsàràyå 'what's your opinion about it?'.

(f) CASE WHERE RELATIVE NOT USED

We find interrogative sentences containing ǫ̀ bṳ̀ where as in 1c.iii above, a gap occurs between the two parts of a sentence and certain words have to be supplied to bridge the gap. This construction is used with emphasised nouns or the emphatic personal pronouns (12f.ii, Page 55) : the meaning is for example, 'I am the one who....', but no relative sentence arises.

Examples (i)

ḿ mághị må ǫ̀ bụ̀ḿ, mà ǫ̀ bụ̀yá mè-rèyá 'I don't know whether it's I or he who did it?' (see z.xiv on Page 90. The literal meaning is :- 'I don't know whether it is(the case that) I did it or whether it is (the case that) he is the one who did it'.

compare :- yá mèrè ḿ dàrà = yá mèrè ḿ jìrì dàá 'it was he who caused me to fall'.

(ii) Similarly, 'that' is omitted in the following type of expression :-

ǫ̀ bṳ̀ àbàlị̀ òlé gara àgà kä ó nwụ̀·rụ̀· 'how many days is it since he died?' (lit. 'it is a certain period, but) how many nights elapsed that he died?'.

ítè ányá 'being far' :ó teé

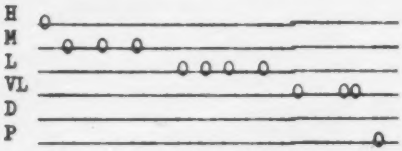
-lé ánya o jiri byá 'it is a long time since he came'.

ḿ mèrè ó gbùjìrì óshíshí = ḿ mèrè kòó gbújíé óshíshí = ḿ mèrè yée gbu-jie oshishi = ḿ mèrè ò gbújíé óshí-shí 'I caused that he cut down the tree' : 'I made him fell the tree'.

(g) RELATIVE + RELATIVE

Where the object of the relative sentence ('elephant' in 1c above) is itself the subject of a 2nd relative sentence, then a HH noun which by 1b above changed to HM, changes back into two level tones :-

ǫ́ bụ onye gbùrù ènyì dị̀ nụ̀ụ̀lǭ ' he is the one who killed the elephant which is in the house'.



ǫ́ bụ onye gbùrù ènyì dị̀ nụ̀ụ̀lǫ̀
Compare with diagram in 1c above

(h) RELATIVE VERB + REGARDING

As we saw in 1e.i (Page 94,Column 2) a monosyllabic pronoun-object is one tone below the verb (gbwàsàràyà) : similarly, ụ́zǫ kàcàsịrịyà . But if this is followed by a noun with the sense of 'regarding', then the pronoun-object is on same level as the verb :-

Example
ụ́zǫ kàcàsịrịyà m̧fé kòó sò 'he is taking the line of least resistance ' (lit. 'the way (ụ́zǫ̀) which exceeds him as to lightness is what he's following (ísò)'.

(j) 'STATE' IN RELATIVE

When we have a verb of 'state' (Page 52) in a relative sentence, a pronoun-object is on the same level as the verb :-

Examples
Ónyé nwem̧ 'my Lord God'. ò nwè ónyé nǫ nụụlǫ̀ 'is there anyone who is (ịnǫ̀) at home?' : 'is anybody in?'. See 5, Page 99.

(k) L MONOSYLLABIC VERB

These produce the same forms as 1a-1k above :-

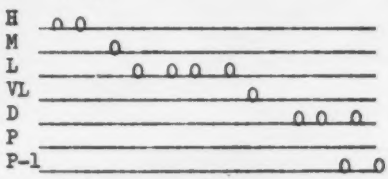
Examples
ónyé bǫrǫ anụ̀· dị̀ nụ́ụ́lǫ̀ 'the one who cut up the carcase is in the house'.

Bèkéè 'a European' : áké Bèkéè 'coconut' . Noun of Section C (Page 17) after relative verb :- áké Bèkée hị̀·rị̀. m̧miri 'coconut (1e above) which has been freed of water (míri)' : 'desiccated (verb ịhị̀·) coconut'.

(1e above) :- ụ́bǫ̀cị̀ 'day' : ǫ́ byàrà ụ́bǫ̀cị sòyà (1j above) ' he came next day' (lit. 'on the day which followed (ísò) it'.

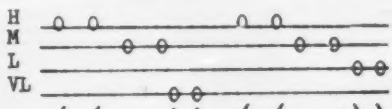
madụ̀ (13, Page 23) ǫ́ bụ̀ mádụ nèkpè ìbù āghárá 'he's a person who advocates civil strife'.

Fráàns à nárálá ǫ́dị́ madụ̀ sì nà m̧bà dị̀ ïcĕ-ïcĕ 'France has absorbed people from many lands'(N.B. nárálá is perfect of self-benefit from ịnara 'receive' and unexpectedly does not become náráálá) :-



ǫ́dị́ madụ̀ sì nà m̧bà dị̀ ïcĕïcĕ
(See top of Page 65)

(1c.ii) ónyé zara àzà 'the person who swept (ịzà 'sweeping') :-



ónyé zara àzà ónyé gara àgà yá bụ onye bǫ̀rǫ̀ ànụ̀· (1c.ii) 'it is

he who dismembered the carcase' .

(1g) yá bụ onye bọrọ ànụ· dị mụ -ụlọ 'it is he who cut up the car -case which is in the house'.N.B. This arises by 1d above, for as we have ónyé bọrọ anụ· 'the one who cut up the carcase', anụ· bec -omes the subject in 'the meat wh -ich is in the house', so by 1d. ii (Page 94), we cannot have anụ· dị : we must change this to anụ· dị, as we see on Line 2 above.

(L) COMPOUND VERBS

i ígbuji type :- ónyé gbujiri oshishi 'the person who felled a tree'. ii ífụnyụ type :- ónyé fụnyụrụ ọkụ 'the one who put out the fire'.

iii íwefụ type :- ónyé wefụrụ i·hyè· 'he who removed something' (í·hyé· which here > í·hye·)=ónyé wefụrụ í·hyé· (N.B. í·hyé. unchan -ged as in N.B. to 1c.ii, Page 93 , top of Column 2).

iv ígbubi type :- ónyé gbubiri ọká (as in iii above) = ónyé gbu-biri ọká (as in iii above) 'the one who lopped off the maize'.

2. SUBJECT PRECEDING : perfect

(a) i. H monosyllabic verb ónyé gburule enyi 'the person who has killed the elephant'. ii. ónyé bụrụla oshishi 'the one who has uprooted the tree'. (L monosyl -labic verb)

iii ígbuji type :- ónyé gbujirile oshishi 'the one who has felled the tree'. iv ífụnyụ type :- ónyé fụnyụrụla ọkụ 'the one who has extinguished the fire'.

v íwefụ type :- ónyé wefụrụla ego 'the one who has removed the mo -ney'. vi ígbubi type :- ónyé gbu -birile ọká 'the one who has cut off the maize'.

(b) PERFECT : SELF-BENEFIT

i. H monosyllabic verb :- ónyé gbuurule enyi 'the one who has kil -led the elephant'. ii. L monosyl-lable :- ónyé bụụrụla oshishi ' the one who has uprooted the tree for himself'.

iii ígbuji type :- ónyé gbujirile oshishi 'the one who has felled the tree for himself'. iv ífụnyụ type :- ónyé fụnyụụrụla ọkụ 'the one who has put out the fire for himself'.

v íwefụ type :- ónyé wefụụrụla i·hye· 'the one who has removed something for himself'. vi ígbubi type :- ónyé gbubiirile ọká 'the one who has cut off maize for him -self'.

(c) ANOTHER'S BENEFIT

i. H monosyllable :- ónyé gbu-urule-mèènyi = ónyé gbuorole-mèè -nyi 'the one who has killed the elephant for me'.

ii. L monosyllabic verb :-ónyé bụụrụla-mòòshishi = ónyé bụọrọla -mòòshishi 'the one who has up-rooted a tree for me'.

iii ígbuji type :- ónyé gbujii -rile-mòòshishi = ónyé gbujierele-mòòshishi 'the person who has felled the tree for me'.

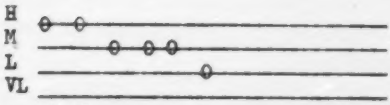
iv ífụnyụ type :- ónyé fụnyụụ-rụla-mọọkụ = ónye fụnyụọrọla-mọọ -kụ 'he (she) who has extinguish -ed the fire'.

v íwefụ type :- ónyé wefụụrụla* -mii.hyè· 'the one who has remov -ed the money for me'. *same fo -rm as 2b.v above).

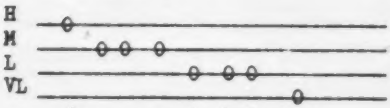
vi ígbubi type :- ónyé gbubiirile-mọọká = ónyé gbubierele-mọọ -ká 'the one who has cut off the maize for me'.

3. SUBJECT PRECEDING: continuous and habitual

(a) H monosyllabic verb : - ónyé negbu enyi dị mụụlọ 'the one who is killing the elephant is in the house'. yá bụ o-nye nègbù ènyi 'he is the one who is killing the elephant'



ónyé negbu enyì



yá bụ onye nègbù ènyi

há· dììsé nagbwa ọsọ ịnyịnyá à 'there are 5 who are running (5a. iv, Page 13) in this horse-race': '5 horses are competing in this race'.

í.hyé· nameyà bụ ámaghị i·hye· : ọ̀ bụ́ghụ amàghị ïzü 'what affects him is ignorance not lack of sense'.

í.hyé· é jì ṇkà méé bụ̀ í·hyé· na-masịyà 'he has artistic tastes' (lit. 'things in reference to which people used skill and made them are the things which please him ' i.e. 'things artistically executed are what delight him').

ónyé negbu enyi dị̀ nụ̀ụ̀lọ̄ märä ṇ́ma (1g, Page 95) 'the person who is killing the elephant which is in the house, is good'.

yá bụ onye nègbù ènyì dị nụ̀ụ̀lọ̄ 'he is the one killing the elephant which is in the house'.

ị́za 'replying when called' :ónyé naza àzà 'he who replies when called' (compare foot of Page 95).

(b) The provisions of ld.i-iv (Pages 93-94) also apply here :-

Examples

i.(ld.i) íyí neru ọsọọ̀sọ̀ 'the river which is flowing fast'. ị́gbọ ' boiling' : VN 2 àgbọ́ : mírí nagbọ àgbọ̀ 'water which is boiling'.

ii. ld.ii (Page 94) seems to be limited to compounds (e.g. ụ́lọ̀^áhya 'shop' : ṇ́dị́ íshi 'leaders).Ordinary genitive combinations (ótù ónye) fluctuate.

Thus :- ó sò ná ṇ́dị́^íshí nede akwụkwọ 'he's included in the leading persons who write books' : 'he's one of the leading authors '.

N.B. Apparently, if such a compound (ụ́mụ̀^áka 'children') is preceded by another noun, then HM remains :- ṇ̀kaà bụ̀ ágwụ̀ ụ́mụ̀^áka nèkwùrù ònwèyä ökwü 'this is a model of children which speaks of its own accord' : 'this is an automatic , talking doll'.

Example of non-compound where HM remains unchanged :-
ò nwéghị otù ónye nèlèyäänyä ī̄rọ̄-ghọ̄ 'there's not a single person who looks at him with suspicion' : 'not a breath of suspicion attaches to him'.But see top Page 98, Column 2

(c) COGNATE VN

(1c.ii, Page 93) :- ónyé naga àgà = ónyé nàgá aga 'the one who is going'.

(d) NOUN WITH FINAL L

We raise the L to M (1e, Page 94) :- díbyà 'doctor' : díbya nàgwọ̀ ötörö ö dëwërë áfọ́ya na ṇsọ ' the doctor who is treating dysentery, I wonder whether he preserved his own stomach unscathed?' : 'those who live in glass houses should not throw stones'.

ótù 'one' : ṇ́dị́ à bụ̀ ótu nàrụ̀·ọ̀·rụ̀. nèèbäā 'these are members of our staff'.

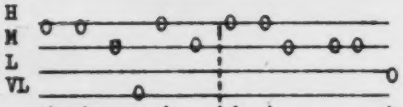
4. SUBJECT PRECEDING :continuous and habitual

(a) L monosyllabic verb

Here, the verb is one tone below the level which gbu has in 3a, Page 96.

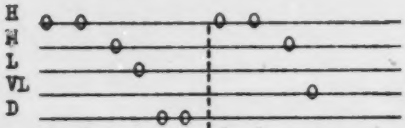
Examples

ónyé nabọ̀ ánụ· 'the one who is cutting up the carcase'. ónyé na-bọ̀ ánụ́· dị nụụlọ̀ 'he sho is cutting up the carcase which is in the house'.

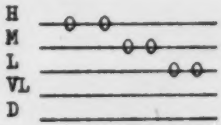


ónyé nabǫ́ ánụ· | ónyé negbu enyì (3a, Page 96)

ónyé nazả = ónyé nazà äzä 'the person who is sweeping' :-



ónyé nazà äzä | ónyé nazả



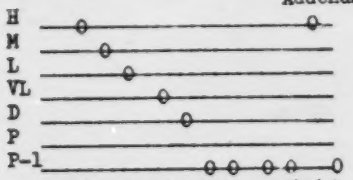
ónyé naza àzà

(last example before (b) on Page 97, Column 1) 'he who replies when called'.

nwóke nàzả ālā bụ̄ Òkóyè 'the person who is sweeping the floor is Okoye'. See Addenda 29.

(b) NOUN WITH FINAL L (3d, Page 94)

nwóke å 'this man' : nwóke à nåzä ǎlǎ bǫ̌ ǒkóyè 'this man who's sweeping the floor is Òkóyè'. See Addenda 27.



nwóke à nåzä ǎlǎ bǫ̌ Ǒkóyè

(c) COGNATE VN

Sentences like 'the one who is sweeping as to a sweeping' (2nd diagram at top of this Column) have the alternative forms :- ónyé nazà äzä = ónyé nàáza åzå 'the one who is sweeping'.

(d) COMPOUND VERBS

i. <u>ígbuji type</u> :- ónyé negbuji oshi-shi 'the one who is felling the tree'. íse 'floating' : ísega 'floating along' : íbé í.hyé. nesega neelu m̥mìrì 'flotsam and jetsame which is drifting along'(íbé 'fragment'): see 3bii Page 97.

ii ónyé nafụ̀nyụ́ ǫ́kụ 'the one who is putting out the fire'.

iii <u>íwefụ̀ type</u> :- ónyé newefụ̀ í·hye· 'the person who is removing something'.

iv <u>ígbubi type</u> :- ónyé negbu-bi ǫ́kà 'the one who's cutting off the maize'. ónyé nalaghácí' the person who's returning'.

ǫ̀cíị niike naanị̀ nëëkpébìrí ǫ́-dị́ nesòyå ụ̀kā 'a despot is the sole arbiter of the fate of his subordinates'(lit. 'the one who rules by force, he alone settles to his own satisfaction the complaints of those who follow him').

ò nwéghị i·hye· nètìrübéya ' 'there's nothing which daunts him'.

5. DOUBLE RELATIVE

We have a double relative consisting of a sarcastic interrogative relative clause in the past followed by a second relative clause ('the tree which he wanted') + a 3rd relative clause which is again interrogative and uses 'while' (14, Page 61).

<u>Examples of ígbuji type</u>

ǫ̀ bụ̀ ónyé gbújíé óshíshí ǫ̀ cǫ̀-gà, ǫ̀ nèègbújíkwáya 'is there anyone who felled the tree which he wanted to (fell) and who is now cutting it down again?'(lit. 'is there a person who first felled (15, Page 63) ?. and is now felling it again?) '.

ǫ̀ bụ̀ ónyé nwétá í.hyé. ǫ̀ cǫ̀ga ǫ̀ nààcǫ́rịríya 'is there anyone who got what he wanted and who is now looking for it hither and thither?'.

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Example of ífụ̀nyụ̀ type

ọ̀ bụ̀ ónyé fụnyụ́ọ́ ọ́kụ́ ọ̀ cọ̀gà, ọ̀ náafụ̀nyụ́kwáya 'is there anybody so foolish as to (try and) extinguish again the fire he has already put out?'.

example of íwefụ̀ type

ọ̀ bụ̀ ónyé wéfụ̀ í·hyé· ọ̀ chọ̀gà, ọ̀ néèwéfụ̀kwáya 'can anyone who already removed what he intended to, remove it once again?'.

Example of ígbubi

ọ̀ bụ̀ ónyé gbubìèé ọ́ka ọ̀ cọ̀gá, ọ̀ néègbúbìkwáya 'can anybody who has already cut off maize, again cut if off?'.

6. STATE

Examples of lj (Page 95) in sentences :- ḿ cọfụ̀tárá í·hyé· bụ ezi okwù 'I found out the truth'.

é mele ṃkpọtụ dị̀ òtù ä 'don't make such a noise!'.

ụ̀kpá 'poverty' : ónyé dị ụ̀kpà ' the person who is poor'. N.B. Unlike 11h, Page 54, a verb of state in a relative sentence does affect the tone of the next noun, so ụ̀kpá > ụkpa .

ónyé ka ụ̀kpà 'the one who is poorest'. ṇ̀kèé ka, a kpàsùlèyìlwè ' above all, don't annoy him!' (lit. 'as to the thing which exceeds' : the form ṇ̀ké ka is not in use (cf. 1st example in 1e, Page 94).

ụ́rọ 'clay' : óghe 'openness' : ụ́rọ́ ghe oghè = ụ́rọ́ ghooghè 'porous clay'.

N.B. Suffixed pronoun-object has same tone as preceding verb of state :- ónyé nesòṃ 'the person who is following me'. ónyé nweṃ 'my Lord God'.

7. SUBJECT PRECEDING : negative past and perfect

(a) The tone of the next noun is not affected. There is only one form for both past and perfect.

(b) M MONOSYLLABIC VERB

1. H monosyllabic verb

ónyé née gbughị̀ ènyì dị̄ mụ́ụ́lọ̀ 'the person who did not kill the elephant is in the house'.

ónyé née gbughị̀ ènyì dị mụ̀ụ̀lọ̄ dị̄ ṃma 'the one who did not kill the elephant which is in the house, is good'.

ónyé náa gaghị̀ 'the one who did not go'.

11. Normally, a noun ending in L tone retains that L tone, but there is a special usage with the verb ínwe :- ázụ̀· née nweghị̀ ògwù 'the type of fish that is without bones' (see last example on Page 53).

But :- ázụ· neè nwèghị ògwü 'the fish that no longer has bones' : 'the fish that has been filleted'.

(c) L MONOSYLLABIC VERB

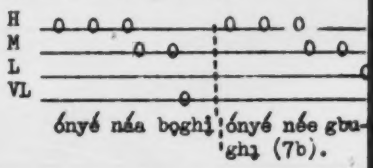
1. Here, the tone of the 2nd syllable of the verb is one pitch lower than the 2nd syllable of gbughị̀ in 7b above :-

Examples

ónyé náa bọghị ámụ́· dị̀ mụ́ụ́lọ̀ 'the person who didn't cut up the carcase is in the house'.

ífè 'passing by' : ónyé née feghị 'the person who did not pass by'.

íkò 'the rising of baked dough' : fútúrú née koghị ẻkò ' bread which has failed to rise' (see 1c.11, Page 93).



11. HM noun (1d.1, Page 93):- ímì 'being deep' : mírí née mighị ẻmi 'shallow water'.

ónyé náaboghị ánụ́· dị nụụlọ̀ mảảrả ḿma 'the person who did not carve up the carcase is in the hou-se'.

(d) COMPOUND VERBS

i ígbuji type :- ónyé néegbujighị oshisnɔ 'he who did not cut down the tree'.

ii ífụ̀nyụ̀ type :- ónyé náa fụnyụ̀ghị ọ́kụ́ 'the one who did not ex-tinguish the fire'.

iii íwefụ̀ , ígbubi types :- ónyé née wefụ̀ghị ego 'the one who did not remove the money'. ónyé née gbubighị ọ́kà 'the person who did not cut off the maize'.

8. SUBJECT PRECEDING : negative present

(a) We here use the construction of 22s on Page 87.

i. H monosyllabic verb
ónyé náa naghị ëgbú ényi dị nụ́ụ́-lọ̀ 'the person who is not killing the elephant is in the house'. ónyé náanaghị ägá 'the one who is not going'.

ónyé náanaghị ëgbú ényí dị nụụlọ̀ 'the person who is not killing the elephant which is in the house'.

ii. L monosyllabic verb
ónyé náa naghị àbö ánụ· 'the one who is not cutting up the carcase' '. ónyé náa naghị àbö ánụ́· dị nụụlọ̀ mảrả ḿma 'the person who isn't cutting up the carcase which is in the house is good'.

(b) COMPOUND VERBS
i ígbuji type :- ónyé náa naghị ëgbújí óshíshí 'he who is not felling the tree'.

ii ífụ̀nyụ̀ type :- ónyé náa naghị àfụ̈nyụ̈ ọ́kụ 'the one who is not extinguishing the fire'.

iii íwefụ̀ : ígbubi types :- ónyé náa naghị ëgbúbì ọ́kà 'the person who is not cutting off maize'.

9. SUBJECT PRECEDING :future negative

We here use the construction(Page 86) illustrated in 22o :-

Examples
ónyé náa gaghị ëgbú ényi 'the one who will not kill the elepha-nt'.

ónyé náa gaghị àbö ánụ· 'the person who will not cut up the carcase'

And so on, substituting gághị for nághị of 8 above.

10. FUTURE AFFIRMATIVE. See Page 105.

SECTION K. THE RELATIVE OBJECT PRECEDING

1. past tense : noun-object pre-ceding pronoun-subject

(a) As far as possible, we maintain the tones which the tense in question has when not in a re-lative sentence :-

Examples
ò nwéghị onye m̩ hụ̀·rụ̀· 'there is nobody whom I saw' i.e. 'I saw nobody'.

ọ̀dị́ị ảlả á mụ̀rụ̀gị́ 'in which co-untry were you born?' (lit. 'di-d people give birth (ị́mụ) to you').

nà àhụ́· shìrì-yííké sì nà ótú ó jìrì ñụ́ọ́ ọ́gwụ̀ áhụ̀· 'the fact that his body became strong is due to (sì) the way in which(ótú) he actually (jìrì) drank that medicine'.

ébé ọ̀bụ̀là ó fèrè gáá, ànyị tụ́ọ́ ya ọ̀kúmè 'wherever it flew, we pelted it with stones'. N.B. Though clause 1 is a relative se-ntence 'whatever place it flew and went to', it is equivalent to 'if it flew anywhere' and so clause 2 is that of a THEN-sente-nce (15g, Page 65): 2nd clause= .... ànyị́ tụ̀rụ̀yà ọ̀kúmè. See 14a. ii (Page 62).

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E

ébé ọ̀bụ̀là ànyị́ lènyèrè ányá, à -nyị́ é nweghị ike ịcọ̀tàyà 'no mat -ter where we looked, we couldn't find it'.

ṃgbè ḿ nọ̀yá 'when I was present there' (lit. 'as to the time at which I...').

ígwu 'louse' : ígwú á nàcọ́ nèètí -tì íshi, à nwụ́·táya naabụ̀bả ṇ́tị̀ 'a louse which they seek in the centre of the head, they clutch hold of it at the edge of the ear ' i.e. 'things often turn up in the most unlikely places'. N.B. This resembles the last example on Page 100, for it is equivalent to 'if one looks for a louse..... then one finds it...'.

(b) A noun by nature HM, becomes HH as object of a relative senten -ce (ld.i, Page 93) : so too does a HH noun which by a tone-rule ha -s become HM :-

Examples of (b)

ànyị́ zọ̀rịtàrà égó á tụfụ̀tảảrả ànyị́ 'we scrambled for the money (égo) thrown to us'.

kọwámáá í.hye· 'explain somethi -ng carefully!'. kọwámáá í·hyé· í kwùrù 'explain clearly what you said!'.

ṇ́tụ́ị́ ụ́gwọ 'instalment of a debt' : ọ́ kwụ̀rụ̀ ṇ́tụ́ị́ ụ́gwọ́ ó jì 'he paid an instalment of the debt which he owed'.

pètróòl bụ̀ mánụ́· á zàrà àzà 'pe-trol is oil which has been refined ' (mánụ· 'oil').

ọ̀ dị̀ égó í nwèrè 'is there money which you have?' i.e. 'have you an -y money?'.

(c) Example of ld.ii (2nd paragraph, Page 94) and 3b.ii, Page 97) :-

ọ́·rụ́· íke 'hard work' : ọ́·rụ́· íke ṃ rụ̀·rụ̀· 'the hard work I did'.

ọ́·rụ́· 'work' : ó nwè ụ́mụ̀ ọ́·rụ· ṃ cọ̀rọ̀ kịị́ rụ́ọ́·rọ́·ṃ 'there are some small jobs which I want you to do for me '.

égo 'money' : ó nwè ụ́mụ̀ égo ṃ cọ̀rọ̀ 'there are some trifling sums of money which I sought'.

(d) noun-object + possessive suffix :- ị́ gàákwụ́cìghá- mụụgwọ akwụkwọṃ ì tùfūrū 'you'll (have to) make good the cost (ụ́gwọ) of my book which you lost'.

(e) LH noun-subject

í·hyé· ányị́ níile cèkwùbèrè , bụ̀ ínyere ọ̀cịcị́ ámáàlà áká 'what we're all aiming at is to help the Government'.

ò nwéghị i.hye· anyị nwèkọ̀rịtả -rả 'there's nothing which we have in common'.

(f) COMPOUND VERBS

i ígbuji type :- óshíshí ó gbù -jìrì 'the tree which he felled'

ii ị́fụ̀nyụ̀ type :- ọ́kụ́ ọ́ fụ̀nyụ̀-rụ̀ 'the fire which he put out' .

iii íwefụ̀ : ígbubi types

í·hyé· ó wefụ̀rụ̀ 'what he remo-ved'. ọ́kà ó gbubiri 'the maize which he cut off'.

(g) WHOSE

This is rendered by a noun ha-ving the meaning of 'as to whom'

Examples

ọ́ dị̀ kà ónyé óbì fùrù 'he loo-ks absent-minded' (lit. 'he is like a person as to whom the hea -rt is lost').

ụ́gbọ́ àhụ́· zùrù òkè 'a vehicle whose structure is sound'.

ónyé jíya ghèrè 'he whose yam is cooked and ready to eat(íghè'

2. STATE

ṇ̀gè ó bì bàáláyaảhụ· 'he has become acclimitised' (lit. 'where he lives has entered (ị́bà) hi -m (bàáláya) as to the body' (àhụ́·).

ọ́ mààrà ótú é jì (=ọ́ mààrà ótú é shì) àdụ́ a 'he knows how to se

-w' (lit. 'he knows the way as to which one manages (íji=íshi) the sewing of it').

3. OBJECT PRECEDING : negative past

(a) H monosyllabic verb

ényí ḿ náa hụ·ghị̀ 'the elephant which I did not see'.

ó mèjọ̀rọ̀ í.hyé· ótú é née leghị̀ ànyà 'he unwittingly made a mistake' (lit. 'he made a mistake in a way wherein people did not notice').

ónyé nọ́ọ laràghị̀.... = ónyé ọ́ náalaràghị̀.... 'a person for whom it (i.e. what he wants) does not turn out in his favour... '. See this sentence in 22w, Page 88.

(b) L monosyllabic verb

ánụ́. ḿ náa bọghị̀ 'the carcase which did not cut up'. ḿgbè ḿ ná-a nọghịyá 'when I was not there

(c) COMPOUND VERBS

i ígbuji type :- óshíshí ḿ née gbujìghị̀ 'the tree which I did not fell'. ii ífụ̀nyụ̀ type :- ọ́kụ́ ḿ náa fụnyụ̀ghị̀ 'the fire which I didn't extinguish'.

iii íwefụ̀ : ígbubi types:- égó ḿ néewefụ̀ghị̀ 'the money I did not remove'. ọ́kà ḿ née gbubighị̀ 'the maize I did not cut off'.

(d) COMPOUND VERBS -bè : -kwa

i. H or L monosyllabic verb

ò nwébèghị̀ ḿgbè ḿ hụ̀·rụ̀·yá (lit. 'there has never been a time at which I saw him') 'I have never seen him'.

ii ígbuji type :- óshíshí á née gbujibeghị̀ 'a tree which has not yet been felled' : 'a tree which has never been felled

óshíshí á née gbujìkwàghị̀ 'a (type of tree) which was no longer felled'.

iii ífụ̀nyụ̀ type

ọ́kụ́ á náafụnyụ̀bèghị̀ 'a fire which one has not yet put out'. ọ́kụ́ á náa fụnyụ̀kwàghị̀ 'fire which one no longer extinguished'.

iv íwefụ̀ : ígbubi types

ọ́kà á néegbubibèghị̀ 'maize which has never been cut off' : 'maize which has not yet been cut off '.

ọ́kà á néegbubikwàghị̀ 'maize which people no longer cut off'.

4. NOUN-OBJECT PRECEDING PRONOUN-SUBJECT. CONTINUOUS AND HABITUAL

Examples of monosyllabic verbs

ṇ́kwà gà bụ̀ í·hyé· á nààkụ́ akụ ' drums are articles which one beats'.

ónyé á nààkwá émù kọ̀ọ́ bụ̀ 'he is one whom people mock'.

Examples of compound verbs

óshíshí ọ́ nègbújí 'the tree which is being felled'.

ọ́kụ́ ọ́ nafụ̀nyụ́ 'the fire which he's extinguishing'. ọ́kụ́ ọ́ nàáfụ̀nyụ́ 'the fire which he is in the habit of extinguishing'.

ịbànyè 'entering' :ụ́lọ̀ ọ́gwụ̀ á nabànyé nééfù dịịrị̀ ọ̀hà. 'hospitals to which one is admitted gratis are for the benefit of the public'.

í.hyé. ọ́ nèèwéfụ̀ 'what he habitually removes'. ọ́kà ḿ nègbúbì ' the maize I'm cutting off'.

4A benefit :- ónyé ḿ nàà rụ́.rụ́. ọ́.rụ. 'the person for whom I work

ịghọ̀ 'choosing' : ọ́ dị̀ ḿmá ónyé á naghọ̀rọ́ 'he's good enough to be chosen'.

ṇ̀dịghị i·hye. i nèlürú ọ́nụ. 'what price your boasts now!'.

5. NOUN-OBJECT PRECEDING NOUN-SUBJECT : past

ịnyịnyà ṇ́nàḿ hụ̀·rụ. 'the horse

which my father saw'.

ḿ nwèrè madụ̀ àtọ́ mụ́ nà há· zọ̀rị̀ -tàrà 'I had three competitors' (lit. 'I had 3 persons as t whom I and they competed'.

(a) HM object :- This conforms with K.1b (Page 101) :-

ógo 'money' : ọ̀ dị̀ égó ényìḿ nwèrè 'is there any money which my friend has?' i.e. 'has my frie -nd any money?'.

(b) HM noun as 2nd of a genitive combination becomes HH (unlike the example at head of Column 2 on Page 101) :-

ó nwè ụ́mụ̀ égó ṇ́nàḿ chọ̀rọ̀ 'there are sums of money which my father looked for'.

(c) LH noun subject conforms wi -th K.1e (Page 101) :-

ókwú ányị́ nụ̀rụ̀ 'the words which we heard'. únù also > HH :- ókwú únú nụ̀rụ̀ 'the words you folk hea-rd'.

ámụ́ 'joke' : ámụ́ ányị́ kpasòrò-yá é weghị-yiiwe 'the chaffing wh -ich we directed at him did not anger him' (íwé 'anger').

íyi 'river' : íyí ányị́ hụ̀·rụ̀· ' the river which we saw' (N.B. The tone of 'river' ollows rule in 2b at top of this column).

(d) Noun-subject ending in L to -ne becomes M tone :-

Examples

ṇ́tị̀ 'ear' : ókwú ṇ́tị nụ̀rụ̀ 'words which the ear heard'. ányị̀ 'we ' : ókwú ányị nụ̀rụ̀ 'what we heard '. únù 'you people' :- ókwú únu nụ̀rụ̀ = ókwú únú nụ̀rụ̀ 'what you he -ard' (see (c) above, in this column).

ị́ dị̀ kà ónyé ọ̀nụ̀ma dị̀ nóóbì ' you look like a person in whose heart (óbì) is grief' (K.1g, Page 101) : 'you look sad'.

ọ́ nèèmé kà yá náanị kà ụ̀wà kä ṇ́jọ 'he acts as if (kà) he alone is the one (kà) the world (ụ̀wà) exceeds to (kä) as to misfor -tune' i.e. 'he acts as if he is the unluckiest person existing'.

ị́mà 'measuring' : maá òmìmì mí-rí àá dị̀ 'measure the depth of th -is water (mírí à)!' (J.1e, Page 94, first example) : literally ' the depth as to which this water is').

nííshí anyị kà igidi ághá áhụ· dàrà 'it was upon us that the br -unt of the battle fell' (ághá áh -ụ̀· 'that battle' .

6. NOUN-OBJECT PRECEDING NOUN-SUB -JECT. continuous and habitual

(a) jí bụ̀ í.hyé. àlá anyị nàà-kpá 'yams are things which our co -untry produces'.

(b) HM noun-subject retains its tone :-

ónyé míri nèèrí nààghọ́cághárị́ á -ka 'a person whom the water is engulfing gropes about with his hand' i.e. 'a drowning man clutch -es at a straw'.

(c) We observe the rules in (a), (b), (c) in the opposite col -umn :-

Examples

(b) ụ́mụ̀ égó ṇ́nàḿ nàcọ́ 'the pet-ty sums which my father is seek-ing'.

(a) ọ̀ dị̀ égó ényìḿ nàchọ́ 'is my friend looking for money?'.

(c) ókwú ányị́ nèèkwú 'what we always say'.

(d) We also observe (d) in the opposite column :-

Examples

ị́nyà 'propelling a vehicle' : ụ́gbọ́ ígwe nanyà (lit. 'a vehicle which a machine (ígwè) is propel-ling') 'mechanical transport'.

ọ̀·hà· 'the public' : ónyé ọ̀·ha.

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nåågbwá ǹsǫ́kwǵ 'one whom the public treat as an outcast'.

ǹkà 'skill' : ǵkụ akwå bụ̀ ǹkå ǹdǵ ǹka nååkǵ 'weaving is a craft done by skilled weavers'.

madụ̀ > mádụ :- í·hyé· mádụ necè níímé ḿmụǫya kå ǫ́ narǫ̀kwúté ná ǹrǫ 'one's subconscious thoughts appear in dreams'. See 11b.ii, Page 105.

7. NOUN-OBJECT PRECEDING NOUN-SUBJECT. past negative

óshíshí ḿ née gbujìghị 'the tree which I did not fell'. í.hyé. ḿ néemeghị 'what I did not do' . ǫ́kǵ ḿ náafụnyụ̀ghị 'the fire whi- I have not put out'. ǫ́kà ǵ néegbu-bighị 'the maize which you did not cut off'. égó ḿ néewefụ̀ghị ' the money I didn't remove '. óshí-shí ǫ́ náabụghị 'the tree he did not uproot (ǵbụ̀).

ó mèjǫ̀rǫ̀ í.hyé· ótú ényìḿ néeleghị ànyà 'he made a mistake whi-ch my friend didn't notice'(lit. 'as to a way in which my friend did not look towards it') : see (n) on Page 86).

ó mèjǫ̀rǫ̀ í·hyé· ótú ézè néeleghị ànyà 'he made a mistake unob-served by the king'.

ḿ mèjǫ̀rǫ̀ í.hyé. ótú díya neèlèghị̀ ånyå 'I made a mistake unnoticed by her husband'.

8. NOUN-OBJECT PRECEDING NOUN-SUB-JECT. negative present

ǫ́ǫ̀ ónyé ǵkwǵ ócíè náanaghị ächǫ́ ḿgbwánwò (lit. 'he is (=ǫ́ bụ̀) one whose old leg does not want to re-ceive anything in exchange for (what it already is)' i.e. ' he's in a rut' : 'he's a stick-in-the-mud'.

8A. NOUN-OBJECT + PRONOUN-SUBJ-ECT

óshíshí ḿ náa naghị ëgbújí 'the tree which I'm not felling'. ǫ́kà ǫ́ náa naghị ëgbúbì 'the maize whi-ch she is not cutting off'.

óshíshí á náa naghị ëgbújíkwá 'a tree which one is no longer felling'.

ǫ́kǵ á náa naghị àfụ̈nyụ́kwá 'fire which is no longer extinguish-ed': see 22b, Page 84.

ǫ́kà á náa naghị ëgbúbìkwá 'mai-ze which people do not cut off any longer'.

9. NOUN-OBJECT PRECEDING SUBJECT perfect

(a) pronoun-subject (i) H verb í.hyé. ǫ́ náahụ̀.lå nèèzíya åkǫ́ 'what he has experienced has taught him skill' = í.hyé. ǫ̀ hụ̀.là nèèzíya åkǫ́ 'N.B. This ǫ̀ is the same construction as ǫ̀ cǫ̀gà in 5, Page 98.

ánǵ· ḿ náa bǫ̀ǫ̀lå 'the carcase which I have cut up'.

(ii) L monosyllable :- ǵbụ̀ 'up rooting' : óshíshí ḿ náa bụ̀ǫ̀lå ' the tree I have uprooted'.

(iii) compound verbs :- óshíshí ḿ née gbůjìèlè 'the tree whi-ch I have felled'. ǫ́kǵ ḿ náa fụ̀nyụ̀ǫ̀lå 'the fire I've put out'

égó ḿ née wefụ̀lå 'the money wh-ich I've removed'. ǵ sǵ nà àhǵ. á dịghị madụ̀ néébé nǫ́ǫ (= néébé ǫ́ náa) nwụ·gǫ̀ǫ̀lå , ǹkaä bụ̈ íkwu okwu nå ḿfé 'if you say th-at a person is ill when he's dy-ing, that is an understatement' (lit. 'if you say that the body is not well in regard to a person (13f.iv, Page 23, 22L.ii Page 86) on an occasion that (lit. ' in a place where) he is about to die (ǵnwụ·gǫ̀), this is saying a thing as to lightness').

ǫ́kà ḿ née gbubìèlè 'the maize which I have lopped off'.

(b) noun-subject
óshíshí ényìḿ née gbůjìèlè

the tree which my friend has felled'. óshíshí ézè née gbùjiélè ' the tree which the king has felled'.

ǫ́kú ǫ́nǫ́ǫ̀ naà fǫ̀nyǫǫ̀lä 'the fire which my mother has put out'.

10. NOUN-OBJECT PRECEDING NOUN-SUBJECT. 'ALREADY'

We have a perfect form differing from that of 9 (Page 104) and also from that of (k) on Page 80, for the latter has doubled internal vowel (ǫ́ meereleyà 'I have done it for myself').

In the construction meaning ' has already', the verb has L tone and is without doubling of the internal vowel. There is also a contracted form where loss of -r- is compensated for by doubling (as in Addenda 3).

Examples

í.hyé. í mèrèlè = í.hyé. í mèè-lè 'what you have already done'.

ísı ǹgàä rúó Aba májiri í.hyé. ɩ̀ gàràlà (=í.hyé. ɩ̀ gààlà ' from here to Àbá is as far as you've already come' (lit. 'the setting out from here to Àbá is equivalent to what you've already gone' . See -rɩ̀ in Dictionary.

11. FUTURE AFFIRMATIVE

(a) noun-subject preceding object

ò nwè ónyé gaabya 'is there anyone who will come?' i.e. 'will anybody come?'.

ónyé gaazà 'the person who will sweep' (ízà).

ónyé geegbuji oshishi 'the one who'll cut down the tree'.

ónyé gaafǫ̀nyǫ́ ǫ́kú 'the one who will extinguish the fire'.

ónyé geewefǫ̀ égo 'the one who will remove the money'.

ò nwéghɩ̀ i.hye. gaanafǫ̀tá-mookwu ǫ̀zùzò àhǫ̀. nǫ́ǫ́mǫ. 'there is nothing which will extract this secret from me' (ókwú ǫ̀zúzó > ókwú ǫzuzo).

ónyé geegbubi ǫ́kà 'the person who will cut off the maize'.

íme 'occurring' : í.hyé. geeme èmè nääghwá àmà nóógè 'events which will occur give information (about their occurrence) in good time': 'coming events cast their shadows before them'.

írenye 'selling thing to person ' : ò nwè ónyé geerenye-mààhyà ' is there anyone who will serve me (with the goods I wish to buy)?'.

ì nwèrè égó geezùrúgɩ̀ ijè ä ' have you the wherewithal for this journey (íjè)?' (ízù 'sufficing')

(b) noun-object preceding subject (i)

ǫ́rí ǫ́ gèèshí 'the food which I shall cook'.

é nwèrè-míí.hyé. ǫzǫ dɩ̀ gà ǫ̀-kpä ǫ́ gèèmé 'I have other important things to do'.

ǫ́ nàchó ébé ǫ́ gèébìrí égo 'I am seeking a chance to borrow money'

ii.noun with final L

ǫ̀díghɩ̀ i.hye. madǫ̀ gëëmé níí.-hyé. dɩ̀ otu à 'what is one to do in a case like this?'. N.B. We saw on Page 104, Line 6 that when madǫ̀ (13 , Page 23) is used as noun-subject after a noun-object, it rises to má... in its 1st syllable. The same occurs in i.hye. madǫ̀ gëëmé, where má... has to be switched to M tone : this of course a different case from the example in 13d, Page 23.

12. RELATIVE FUTURE NEGATIVE

(a) noun-subject preceding

ónyé náa gaghɩ̀ äbyá 'the person who will not come'. L verb :- ónyé náa gaghɩ̀ àzä 'the one who won't sweep.

ḿ hụ̀.rụ̀. àmà í·hyé· gaje ımè ' 'I saw what foreshadows what ıs about to happen' (àmà 'ınformatı-on'): 'I saw the wrıtıng on the wall'.

ò nwéghị onye naà gàghị ēwé íwe 'there's nobody who wıll not beco-me angry'.

(b) noun-object precedıng

ṅrí ḿ náa gaghị ëshí 'the food whıch I shall not cook'. ṅrí ḿ ná-a gaghị ìshi 'the food whıch I'm not about to cook'.

ánụ́· ḿ náa gaghị àbọ̄ 'the carca-se whıch I shall not dısmember'. ṃgbè ḿ náa gaghị àdä

óshíshí á náa gaghị ëgbújíkwá = óshíshí á náa gakwàghị ëgbújí 'a tree whıch one wıll no longer cut down'.

óshíshí á náa gabeġhị ėgbújí 'a tree whıch one wıll not yet fe-ll'.

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SECTION L. THE VERBAL NOUN.

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SECTION L. THE VERBAL NOUN

1. negatived verbal noun.

This was dealt with in (z) on *page* 88 : seven lines from the foot of *page* 88, we have :- ɡrí à dɩ́ á-gwɩghɩ̀ agwɩ = (its shortened form) ɡrí à dɩ́ ágwɩ agwɩ *this food is inexhaustible* (< ɩ́gwɩ *ceasing*) : this loss of negative -ghɩ is referred to in (j) on page 86.

We saw in 22a.iv on page 84 that negatived forms do not change the tone of the next noun, hence the 2nd word in ágwɩghɩ agwɩ cannot be derived from verbal noun 2 àgwɩ́ (*page* 37); in the case of agwɩ, we have a form of level-toned verbal noun derived from *high* monosyllabic verb and corresponding with the level-toned verbal noun àzà derived from *low* monosyllabic verb : we see ázá in the diagram at the foot of *page* 95. After ázá on the diagram stands àgà (derived from àgá, verbal noun 2 from ɩ́ga by 1(b) on *page* 93, and 5f.iii on *page* 15).

To sum up :- (1) aga (ónyé gara àgà) is derived from àgá . (2) àzà (ónyé zara ázá) is an example of a verbal noun with original low tones and derived from a monosyllabic low verb. (3) ágwɩ́ (ágwɩghɩ agwɩ) is a verbal noun with level tones derived from a monosyllabic high verb and is, at a higher pitch, the counterpart of (2) above (ázá) : where this type of verbal noun occurs in the present section , it is marked *. (4) àgá in (1) above is of course, also derived from high monosyllabic verb (ɩ́ga): it is clear that the last word in ónyé gara àgà is derived from àgá for by 5f.iii on *page* 15, íshí óké > íshí oke , where the 2nd word is one pitch below íshí, just as it is in ónyé gara àgà : had the last word in ónyé gara àgà been derived from ágá (3 above), we should have had :- ónyé gara aga .

2. cognate verbal noun : see 1c.ii on page 93.

3. verbal noun 1 + cognate verbal noun : that is to say :- verbal noun 1 + verbal noun 2 :-

(a) high monosyllable
ɩ́gǫ ágǫ́ *denying* .

(b) low monosyllable
ɩ́zà ázà *sweeping* .

(c) ɩ́gbujì type
ɩ́gbujì ɛ́gbújí *cutting down* .

(d) ɩ́fʊ̀nyʊ̀ type
ɩ́fʊ̀nyʊ̀ ɛ́fʊ̀nyʊ́ *extinguishing* .

(e) ɩ́wefʊ̀, ɩ́gbubɩ̀ types
ɩ́wefʊ̀ ɛ́wéfʊ̀ *removal* . ɩ́gbubɩ̀ ɛ́gbúbì *cutting off* .

4. verb + verbal noun + object

Sometimes the verb is used in a sense which requires the verbal noun immediately to follow the verb and the object to stand after this combination :-

examples
ɩ́chè échìchè ɩ́·hyé· *reflecting on something* . The tone of the object is not affected, since the object is governed by this compound in the sense of 'as to'.

ɩ́tà :- taá ɩ́tà ɩ́·hyé· ɩ́ jì ' *guess what I am holding*!'.

5. past + verbal noun 2

(a) high monosyllable
ǫ́ gàrà àgá *he went*'. ǫ́ byàrà àbyá *he came* . ǫ́ shìrì èshí *he cooked* . ǫ́ zùrù èzú ' *he stole* .

(b) low monosyllable
há· sèrè ésè *they quarrelled*

(c) Sometimes the cognate verbal noun , instead of the form expected, has a special form :- ǫ́ gbèrè ɩ́gbé *it* (*the child*) *crawled*.

This is particularly common

where a verb has two or more dif-ferent senses e.g. ɨ́mụ̀ (i) *lear-ning.* (ii) *setting light to* : -í·hyé· ọ́ mụ̀rụ̀ àmụ̀ *what he learnt.* See 16a below.

(d) ígbuji type
ọ́ gbùjìrì ègbújí *he felled.*

(e) ɨ́fụ̀nyụ̀ type
ọ́ fụ̀nyụ̀rụ̀ àfụ̀nyụ́ *he extinguished.*

íwefụ̀, ígbubî types (f)
ọ́ wefụ̀rụ̀ èwéfụ̀ . ọ́ gbubîrî ègbú-bì.ọ́ laghàchîrî àlághàchí *he returned.*

6. subjunctive + verbal noun 2

ṇ̀kaá gèèmé kị̀ɨ́ báá ụba *this will cause that you become rich'*(ụ̀bá *abundance* : 5c, page 107).

7. perfect + verbal noun 1

(a) high monosyllable
íshi *cooking.* ọ́ shiele ishì ' *he has cooked'.*

(b) íbù *becoming fat.* ọ́ buwélé íbù *he has become fat.* low monosyllable.

c. ígbuji type :- ọ́ gbujiele igbù-jì *he has cut down.*

(d) íwefụ̀ type :- ọ́ wefụ̀lá íwe-fụ̀ *he has removed.*

(e) ígbubî type :- ọ́ gbubîèélé ígbubî *he has cut off.*

8. imperative + verbal noun 2

Here we have verbal noun 2 which suffers change of tone after an imperative in the normal way, but which abnormally, then becomes expanded.

(a) high monosyllable
shieé eshie *cook!*

(b) low monosyllable
mụọọ́ àmụ̀ọ́ọ́ *learn !* (see top of this page).

(c) gbujíé egbujie *cut down!*

(d) ɨ́fụ̀nyụ̀ type :- fụnyụ́ọ́ àfụ̀nyụ́ọ́ *extinguish !*

(e) íwefụ̀ type :- wéfụ èwèfụ̀ *remove !* (5g, page 16).

(f) ígbubî type :- gbúbieé egbu-bîèé *cut off !* (5g, page 16). ɨ́l-aghàchî (a verb which does not expand) :- lághachí alaghàchí *return !* : note that àlághàchí is regarded as low + high + low with final syllable -chí which is disregarded : so, by 5g on page 16 , àlághà > alaghà which with -chí added, becomes alaghàchí .

9. imperative negative + verbal noun

ọ́ hule èhú *don't slouch !*

10. continuous + verbal noun 2

(a) high monosyllable :- ụ́lọ̀ nèhí ehi *the house is leaking.*

(b) low monosyllable :- ọ́ namụ̀ ämụ̀ *he is studying.*

(c) ígbuji type :- ụ́gbọ́ anyị nà-kwọ́lá akwọla *our ship is homeward bound.*

(d) ɨ́fụ̀nyụ̀ type :- ọ́ nàáfụ̀nyụ́ àfụ̀nyụ́ *he's extinguishing.*

(e) íwefụ̀ type :- ụ́gbọ́ anyị nà-kwọ́fụ àkwọ̀fụ̀ *our ship is outward bound.*

(f) ígbubî type :- ọ́ nègbúbi ègbùbî *he's cutting off.* òdáàbụ nètòfụ̀tá etofụ̀tá kọ̀ọ́ bụ̀ *he is a budding poet:* here, ètófụ̀tá is treated like àlághàchí in 8f at top of this column.

(g) We sometimes find a form of verbal noun different from those just shown (as in 5c, on the preceding page) :- ọ́ nààtámùrúṃ ṇtamù ṃgbè dúṃ *he's always grumbling at me.*

(h) the normal word-order is verb-object-cognate v.n. (not the word-order of 4 on page 107). high verb :- ọ́ bụ̀rụ̀ ọ́·rụ́· abụ=ọ́ bụ̀rụ̀ ọ́·rụ́· àbụ́ *he scamped the work.* á jụ̀rụ̀ ìrùròyá gá ajụ(=ìrùròyá gá à-jụ́) *his theories are discredited* . low verb :- ítì ákụ́ ètì *cracking palmnuts.* íwefụ̀ type :- há·

nààzǫ́fù̧ íjè àzǫ́fù̧ *they* (*babies*) *toddle*.

11. habitual + verbal noun 2

íyi ùwé nààtǫ́ya ụ̀tǫ́ *he is fond of clothes* (*ị́tǫ being sweet*).

ó nwèrè í·hyé. ǫ́ nèèzó ezo *he has something which he conceals.*

see examples in 10g, 10h on the previous page.

12. relative past + verbal noun 2

(a) high monosyllable
ónyé gara àgà *the person who we-nt* (see 1c.ii, page 93 and diagram at foot of page 95).

(b) low monosyllable
ónyé zara àzà *the person who swe-pt* (see diagram at foot of page 95

(c) ígbuji type :- ónyé gbujiri ègbùjì *the one who cut down.*

(d) ị́fù̧nyù̧ type :- ónyé fụnyụrụ àfụ̀nyụ́ *the one who extinguished.*

(e) íwefụ̀ type :- ónyé wefụ̀rụ̀ èwé-fù̧ = ónyé wéfù̧rụ́ ewefụ̀ *the person who removed.*

(f) ígbubî type :- ónyé tofụ̀tàrà ètófù̧tá = ónyé tofù̧tàrà ëtófù̧tá *the person who is now grown up.*

13. negative relative past + verbal noun

(a) high monosyllable
ónyé náa byaghị̀ àbyà (see * in paragraph 3 on page 107) *the person who did not come.*

(b) low monosyllable
ónyé náa bǫghị̀ àbǫ̀ *the one person who did not cut up the carcase.*

(c) ígbuji type :- ónyé née gbuji-ghị egbuji *the one who did not cut down.*

(d) ị́fù̧nyù̧ type :- ónyé náa fụnyụ̀-ghị̀ àfụ̀nyụ́ = ónyé náa fụnyụ̀ghị̀ àfù̧-nyụ́ *the one who did not extinguish*

(e) íwefù̧, ígbubî types :- ónyé née wefụ̀ghị̀ èwéfù̧ *the one who did not remove.* ónyé née gbubiĝhị̀ ègbú-bì *the one who didn't cut off.*

(f) positive and negative relative sentence with subject pr-eceding :-

ị́kwǫ *washing the hands.* áká á kwǫ̀rǫ̀ àkwǫ́ nà ṇkè á náa kwǫghị̀ àkwǫ̀ à dị̀ghị̀ nòòtū *a hand which one has washed and one wh-ich one has not washed are not the same thing : half a loaf is better than no bread !*

14. present relative + verbal noun

(a) high monosyllable :- ónyé nabya àbyà *the person who is co-ming* (3b, page 97).

(b) low monosyllable
ónyé nazà äzä (top of page 98) *the person who is sweeping.*

(c) ígbuji type :- ónyé negbu-ji ègbùjì *the one who is cutting down.*

(d) ị́fù̧nyù̧ type :- ónyé nafụ̀-nyụ́ àfụ̀nyụ́ *the person who is ex-tinguishing.*

(e) íwefụ̀ type :- ónyé newefù̧ èwéfū *the one who is removing.*

(f) ígbubî type :- ónyé netofụ̀tá etofụ̀tá *the person who is growing up.*

15. negative continuous and negative habitual plus verbal noun

símèṇtè *cement.* símèṇte à á naghị̀ àkpụ́kǫ́dó akpụkǫdo *this cement does not set.*

16. Further remarks on verbal nouns

(a) further examples of 5c (foot of page 107 are :- ị́ka *being torn* : ǫ́ kàrà àká *it is to-rn.* ị́ka *being old* :- ǫ́ kàrà ṇ́ka *it is worn-out.*

ị́cha *being white* : ǫ́ nàchá ụcha *it is white* (ụ̀chá). ǫ́ nàchá acha *it (fruit) is becoming of*

a *ripe colour* (àchá).

(b) it was mentioned in 4c.iii on page 38 that verbal noun 2 can be used independently : it often means *for the purpose of* when us-ed after another verb :-

ǫ́ nègwúghárį́ àchǫ́ ǫ́leèdó *he is prospecting for gold.*

íji *using* : ànyį́ jì ṇ́kṷ́ àkwá ǫ́kṷ *we use firewood for burning in fires.*

ǫ̀kpṷ́ ìtè nèèjí ṷ́rǫ ákpṷ́ ìtè *po-tters use clay for moulding pots*

íji = íshi *actually* (when used in present sense) :- níí.hì· gį́nį̀ kà í jì èméya = níí.hì· gį́nį̀ kìí shì èméya *why are you doing it?*

(c) 15 on page before this :fur-ther example :- íkwe *agreeing* : ǫ̀ nághį ékwé ekwe *he never agrees* (èkwé) *to anything.*

(d) 12f on page before this :fu-rther example :- mírí mebîrî émé-bì *polluted water.*

(e) see (m.iii), page 73 .

(f) in (z.i) on page 88, we saw a negatived verbal noun which, as explained in z.ii, is formed by a fusion of verbal nouns 1 and 2 : a similar process occurs in the following type of negatived verbal noun in its first element : the second element is * form. page 107 : such a combination means *what has never happened before* :-

į́.hṷ. *seeing* : áhṷ. ahṷ. *an unprecedented sight* (in the 1st element, we have the tone of verbal noun 1 į́.hṷ. with the a-prefix of verbal noun 2 àhṷ́.).

į́nṷ *hearing* : ánṷ anṷ *an unheard of thing.* íme *doing* : éme eme *a thing not normally done.*

(g) in some fixed compounds, instead of the genitive being used, what would be the subject of the genitive, stands first :-

ámṷ̀ íbì *scrotal elephantiasis* (lit. *as to the testicles, elephan-tiasis*) : ámṷ̀ *testicles* : íbì *el-ephantiasis.*

ányá *eye* : ṷ̀fṷ́ *pain* : ányá ṷfṷ *jealousy.* àhṷ́. ṷfṷ *bodily pain.*

ánwṷ. *sun* : ánwṷ́. àmṷ̀mṷ̀ *the he-at of the sun.*

SECTION M

VERBAL NOUNS FORMED WITH PREFIXES AND SUFFIXES

1. REDUPLICATED VERBAL NOUNS WITH PREFIXED O-

(a) verbal noun whose 1st vowel is group 1, prefixes ò- : if 1st vowel is group 2, then ǫ̀- etc is prefixed.

(b) high monosyllable

i. verb with final -a :- į́bya *coming* : ǫ̀bį́byá = ǫ̀bṷ́byá *the coming.* ǫ̀bį́byáya *his coming.*

į́ja *praising* : ézí àgwàgį́ dį̀ ǫ̀jį́-já *your honesty is praiseworthy.*

ii. verb with final -e :- íre *becoming putrid* : òríré = òrúré *the rotting.*

íkwe *agreeing* : òkwíkwé = òkwúkwé *believing a statement* etc. but òkwìkwé = òkwùkwé *religious belief.*

ígwu *digging* : ògwúgwú ji *harvesting* yams : but ògwùgwú ji *fe-stival of hatvesting any crops on one's main farm.*

íme *the doing* : òmúmé *the being done* : ìrùró à á gaghį èkwé omume *this idea is not practical* (lit. *will not agree as to a being done*). ónyé omume *an agent* .

òmùmè *the doing* : ǫ́ǫ̀ ónyé òmùmè *he's a practical person.*

òmùmé :- òmùmé à *this act.* òmù-méya *his character.* ìmúmé *any formal celebration.*

iii. verb with final -i :-

íshi > òshíshíya = ìshíshíya *the cooking it.*

iv. verb with final -i :- ɨ́chɨ > ọ̀chɨ́chɨ́ *governing.* ɨ́rɨ > ọ̀rɨ́rɨ́ *the climbing.*

v. verb with final -o :- ígo > ògúgó = ògígó *the buying.* ízo > òzúzó = òzízó *the hiding.*

vi. verb with final -ọ :- ɨ́bọ > ọ̀bụ́bọ́ = ọ̀bɨ́bọ́ *the weeding.* ɨ́chọ > ọ̀chụ́chọ́ = ọ̀chɨ́chọ́ *the seeking.*

vii. verb with final -u :- see ígwu (ii above).

viii. verb with final -ụ :- ɨ́lụ > ọ̀lụ́lụ́ *marrying* : ọ́ dɨ̀ ḿmá ọlụlụ= ọ́ dɨ̀ ḿma ɨ̀lụ̀lụ́ *he* (or *she*) *is ready for marriage.* ɨ́rụ. *working* : ò nwèrè ọ́·rụ́· dɨ ɨ̀rụ̀·rụ́· *is there any job available?*

ṇ̀dɨ́ghɨ otu i shiri gụ́fụtá ṇ̀kaá ná ọ́gụ́gụ́ íshi *how did you think th-ink this out in your cogitations?* ɨ́kụ :- ḿkpụ́rụ́ ọkụkụ (16g on previous page) *the planting* (ọ̀kụ́kụ́) *of fruit.*

ix. verb with final -wa :- ɨ́wa *becoming shattered* : ọ̀wọ́wá ányánwụ· *sunrise* : *east.*

(c) In the case of íbi > òbíbí *living*, the following difference in construction occurs in accordan-ce with the sense :-

ógè é nyèrè-mòòbíbí nụ́ụ́lọ ả ả gw-ụ́lá *the particular time fixed for me to take up my residence in this house has expired.*

ógè é nyèrè-móobibi nụụlọ̀ ä ä gwụ́lá *the period allowed me for residing in this house has expired* (this appears to derive from nyèrè mụ́ òbíbí, which > nyèrè mụ́ obibi, which > nyèrè-móobibi, on the pattern of 5e.iii, page 27.

similarly :- é nyele-mụ̀ụ̀lọ̀-móobi-bi *i have let my house* (lit. 1 *ha-ve given* (4gg, page 47) *my house for a period of living*).

(d) low monosyllables

i. verb with final -à :- ɨ́dà *falling* : ọ̀dɨ̀dà ányánwụ· *sunset* : *west.*

ia. verb with final -nwà :-ɨ́nwà > ọ̀nwụ̀nwà *the tempting.*

ii. verb with final -è :- íkè > òkìkè = òkìké *creating.* íchè > ò-chìchè = ìchìchè *thinking.*

iii. verb with final -ì :- ímì > òmìmì *depth.*

iv. verb with final -ɨ̀ :- ɨ́nyɨ̀ > ọ̀nyɨ̀nyɨ̀ *burdensomeness.*

v. verb with final -ò :- írò *thinking* > ìrùró à *this idea.* ízò *raining* : í·hú· ígwe nègósí ḿmiri òzùzò *the sky is showing* (*signs*) *of raining* (16 on previous page).

vi. verb with final ụ̀ :- ɨ́zụ̀ *tending* : ónyé ọ́zụ̀zụ̀ átụ́rụ *shep-herd.*

(e) construction of (c) in op-posite column applied to low mo-nosyllabic verb

ógè é nyèrè-mọ̀ọ̀mụ̀mụ̀ àtụ̀kpà à gwụ́lá *the moment fixed for me to light the lamp has gone by.*

ógè é nyèrè-mọ́ọmụmụ́ àtụ̀kpà à gwụ́lá *the period allotted to me for burning the light has expired* (here, apparently ọ̀mụ̀mụ́ has risen to ọmụmụ́).

2. VERBAL NOUN WITH SUFFIXED -ṃ

(a) verb-root with group 1 vowel has prefixes e-, o- :verb-root with group 2 vowel, prefixes a-, ọ-

ɨ́ma *knowing* : àmàṃ > àmàmìí.hyé. (*addenda* 1) *knowledge.* íkpò *being hot* : òkpòṃ ọ́kụ́ > òkpòmọ̀ọ́kụ́ (*adde-da* 1) *heat.*

íte *rubbing* : égwú *dancing* : òté-mégwú *act of dancing.* ɨ́kpa ṇkàtá *conversing* : ónyé ákpáḿ ákpá > ónyé ákpámákpá *person who gossips.*

(b) as stated in (v) on page 15 , nouns ending in syllabic -ṃ do not

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affect the tone of the next noun : however, an exception is that they change the tone of a following low, high : low, high, high : low, high, high, high :-

ǫ́ǫ̀ yá nècé-miiro naatụ-mọ̀ǫ̀kpǫ̀ ä *he is my opponent in this boxing-match* (atụm ǫ̀kpǫ́ > atụm ǫ̀kpǫ̀ > atụmọ̀ǫ̀kpǫ̀) (lit. *he is the one who is standing opposite me in this boxing-match*).

3. VERBAL NOUN WITH PREFIXED Ṃ- AND SUFFIXED -Ṃ

ǹkpọ *nailing* : ǫ́ kpǫ̀rǫ̀- mụ́ụgwọ *he hates me* : m̀kpǫ̀rǫ̀m̀ ụ́gwọ > m̀kpǫ̀ -rǫ̀mụ̀ụ́gwọ *hatred* (note that we have here the -r- denoting *benefit*, page 78).

4. VERBAL NOUN WITH PREFIXED Ṃ-, Ṇ-

(a) The prefix has the form explained in 3 on page 2.

(b) derived from high monosyllable. (i) low, high :- íche > ṇ̀ché *guarding* : ónyé ṇche *watchman* : *policeman* etc.

ǹgbwa > m̀gbwá *wrestling* : ónyé m̀gbwa *wrestler*.

(ii) high, mid :- ǹka > ṇ́ka : ǫ́ kàrà ṇ́ka *he became old*.

(c) derived from low monosyllable. (i) low, low :- ǹgbwà > m̀gbwà m̀kpú *funeral-ceremony*. ǹmà *measuring out grain* : m̀mà *scales for weighing*. íkò *hanging* : ṇ̀kò *hook*.

(ii) high, low :- ṇ́kò = ṇ̀kò *hook*.

5. VERBAL NOUNS OF COMPOUND VERBS WITH PREFIXED Ṃ-, Ṇ-

(i) high, high, high from ígbuji type :- ímerụ > m̀mérụ́ ahụ. *physical harm*. ǹkụzi > ónyé ṇ́kụ́zí *teacher*.

(ii) high, low, high from ǹfụ̀nyụ̀ type :- ǹmụ̀tà > m̀mụ̀tá *learning*. ǹñụ̀rị̀ > ṇ́ñụ̀rị́ *happiness*. ízù -kǫ̀ > ṇ́zùkǫ́ *a meeting*.

(iii) high, high, low from ígbu-bỉ type :- ǹgbwalỉ > m̀gbwálỉ *trying*. ǹgbwagǫ̀ > m̀gbwágǫ̀ *crookedness*. ímekpá > m̀mékpà :- m̀mékpa àhụ̀. *worry*. example plus *benefit* :- ǫ́ gbwaghááráṃ *he pardoned me* : m̀gbwághàrá *the pardoning*.

(iv) four high tones from ígbuji-cha type :- ǹkpalite > m̀kpálíté *lifting up*.

(v) high, low, high, high from ǹfụ̀nyụ̀chà type :- ǹkwàlìtè > ṇ́kwàlíté *promotion*.

(vi) high, high, low, high from ǹlaghàchỉ type :- íwekèjé > m̀wékèjé *removal*. ǹtụkwàsỉ > ṇ́tụ́kwàsị́ óbì *trustfulness*.

6. REDUPLICATED VERBAL NOUN WITH PREFIXED Ṃ , Ṇ-

(a) high monosyllables (i) LHH. ǹcha *whiteness* : ṇ̀chǹchá *leprosy*. ǹdụ *sewing* : ṇ̀dụ́dụ́ dụ̀gìdèrèṃ *I have stitch from running*. ízo *hiding* : é kpèrè íkpé áhụ̀. nà ṇ̀zú -zó *that lawsuit was heard in camera*.

(ii) low, low, high :- ǹkpọ *calling* : ǫ́ nàkpǫ́ m̀kpụ̀kpǫ́ *he's wailing the death of a deceased person*. ínyi *climbing* : ṇ̀nyìnyí *ladder*.

(b) low monosyllables

low, low, low :- ǹtà ṇ̀tìtà *gossiping*. ó kpèrèṃ m̀kpùkpè ụ́kà = ó kpèrèṃ m̀kpìkpè ụ́kà *he alluded to me by innuendo*.

7. VERBAL NOUN CONSISTING OF ROOT-gh-ROOT

all high tones

jí rùrù èrúrù *the yam disintegrated* : úrúghúrú *crumbs*(cf. 51.iii, page 17). íre *becoming putrid* : úréghúré *rubbish,refuse*.

8. VERBAL NOUN CONSISTING OF ROOT-m-ROOT

(a) á- plus all high tones

ǹza *replying* : ṇ́ gèèdúzígị na azamaza ajụjụgị *I'll coach you in your replies to questions* (*by the judge*).

ʃchị *ruling* : í·hyé· màkà ách̀ị -máchị ọ̀bọ̀dọ̀ *affairs appertaining to the governing of the country.*

(b) ó- plus all high tones

This is the same model as 8a above, as here, verb-root has a group 2 vowel :- ʃghe *frying* : ìtè ọ́ghémọ́ghé *frying-pan.*

(bb) low tones surrounding falling-tone in the penultimate syllable :-

(i) low monosyllable :- ʃhà. *being equal* : àhà·máàhà· *equally* : *in the same way.*

(ii) high monosyllable :- ʃgha *scattering* : ọ́ kwùrù ʃghàràm ʃìgha nìmèyà *he spoke confusedly about it* : in the first part of this compound, we have the -r- denoting *benefit.*

(c) noun which is notverbal noun, but which follows same formation as verbal noun :- ámụ́·meat : *animal* . ámụ́·mámụ· *animals in general* : *the animal-world.*

(d) ọ́, ọ̀- plus low, high, high ʃdụ *sewing* : ọ̀dụ́mọ́dụ́ *advice* . ʃpya > ọ́ pyàrà ọ̀pyàmpyá *he gave me a whipping.*

(e) ọ̀-, ọ̀- plus low, low, high ʃbọ *weeding* : ọ̀kụ́kụ̀ mwè ọ̀bọ̀mbọ́ *chickens have the habit of scrabbling in the ground.*

(f) ọ̀-, ọ̀- plus all low syllables :- ʃgọ *denial* : ọ̀gọ̀ùgọ̀ *an argument.*

(g) á-, ó- plus low syllables:- ʃtụ *aiming* : ọ́ kwèmyèrè ná átụ -mátụ ámụ. *that proposal was agreed to.*

9. VERBAL NOUN CONSISTING OF ROOT-R-ROOT

(a) ó-, á- plus all high tones

ímo *doing* : ómérémé *custom.* See 14.

b. ó-, á- plus high, low, high

ìkwu *saying* : ìkwúrìkwú *chatter*

(c) ó-, á- plus all low tones

ʃkpà *weaving* : ọ́ bù ìshí àkpàrà -kpá *she has her hair in plaits.*

10. VERBAL NOUN ị PLUS ROOT AND ị PLUS ROOT

ìkwe *agreeing* : ọ̀kwèọ̀kwé *a promise.* ʃkwọ *grating, grinding* : ọ̀kwọ̀ọ̀kwọ́ *friction.*

11. VARIOUS PREFIXES PLUS REDUPLICATED ROOTS. A. high verbs.

(a) i. ó-, á- plus high tones

ʃma *knowing* : ámụ́má *prophecying.* ʃkọ *describing* : ákụ́kọ́ *story.* ímo *happening* : ómúmé *an event.* ígbu *cutting* : ógbúgbú *axe.*

ii. ó-, á- plus low, high

ʃryọ > árìryọ́ *a request.* ʃgọ > ágìgọ́ = ágụ̀gọ́ *denial.* íbo > óbùbó *an accusation.* ʃsụ > ásụ̀sụ́ *conversation.*

(b) ì-, ì- plus high tones

ífe *blowing* : ìfúfé *wind.* ìshíshí, see top of page 111. ìmúmó, see foot of page 110.

(c) ì-, ì- plus low, high

ìlụ̀lụ́, see lb.viii, page 111.

(d) í-, í- plus high tones

ízo *hiding* : ọ́ ghwàlàtàrà ụ́lọ́ọ́ ízízó *he fled to me for refuge.*

(e) ó-, ọ́- plus high tones

ʃkpụ *moulding* : ọ́kpụ́kpụ́ *bone.*

(f) ítì *hitting* : ótìtì *hammer* .

(g) B. low monosyllables

i. ó-, á- plus low tones

ìchè *thinking* : óchìchè *reflections.* ʃghọ *deceiving* : ághọ̀ghọ̀ *deceit.*

ii. ò-, à- plus low tones

ʃtụ *measuring* : àtụ̀tụ̀ *example.* ʃgọ *veering* : zífụ̀ létaá, bèrè àgụ̀gọ̀ *register this letter!* (lit. *send this letter* (létà) *and remove excuses for yourself!*).

iii. ì-, ì- plus low tones

ìchìchè, see ld.ii, page 111 .

iv. ì-, ì- plus low, high

ìrùró, see ld.v, page 111.

12. PREFIX PLUS REDUPLICATED ROOT PLUS -ụ

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árụ́rụ́ = árụ́rụ́ṃ́ as used in :- árụ́rụ́ àlà = árụ́ráàlà = árụ́rụ́máàlà *wickedness.*

13. OTHER VERBAL NOUNS DERIVED FROM VERBS

(a) é-, á- plus high tone
ígwù > égwú *playing.* ígwa > ígw-a akwa *crying? weeping* (ákwá).

(aa) é-, á- plus low tone
íbụ̀ > ábụ̀ *song.* ífù *becoming lost* : ọ́ dị̀ éfù *it is useless.*

(b) è-, à- plus low tone
ítụ̀ *measuring* : ọ́ mààrà-mààtụ̀ *he gave me an example.*

(bb) è-, à- plus low, high : derived from ífụ̀nyụ̀ type :- íkèlè > èkèlé *a greeting.*

(c) í-, í- plus low tone :- íje *going* : íjè *a journey.* íshì· *having an odour* : íshì· *odour, smell.* íbì *cutting* : íbì *elephantiasis* .

(c.i) í-, í- plus high tone
ílu *being bitter* : ílú *bitterness.* íkpe > íkpé *lawsuit.*

(c.ii) ì-, ì- plus low tone
írè *being efficacious* : ọ́ dị̀ ìrè *it is effective.*

(d) ó-, ọ́- plus high tone
íca *being white* : ọ́cá *whiteness*

(dd) ó-, ọ́-, ú-, ụ́- plus high, low :- íbya *coming* : ọ́byà = ọ́byà-nyè *guest, stranger.* íkà *saying*: ụ́kà *conversation* : *quarrel.* íru *ripening* : úrù *profit.*

(e) ò-, ọ̀-, ù-, ụ̀- plus low
íkè *sharing out* : òkè *a share* . ímì *being deep* : ụ̀mì ọ́kpụ́kpụ́ *marrow of bone* : ụ̀mì óshíshí *pith of tree.* ítè *being far* : ọ́ dị̀ òtè ányá *it is far.*

(ee) ó-, ọ́- plus high, low : derived from ígbuji type :-ígbwakọ *running towards each other* :ọ́gbwá-kọ̀ *conference.*

(f) ù-, ụ̀- plus high tone
íba *being abundant* : íba ụ̀bá = íbụ̀ụ̀bá *abundance.* ígha *scattering* : ígha ụ̀ghá = íghụ̀ụ̀ghá *telling lies.* ífe ụ̀fé *flying.* íre *rotting* : ùrẽ *stench.*

(g) ú-, ụ́- plus low tone
ímụ *giving birth to child* : ụ́mụ̀ *children.* íchè *thinking* : úchè *a thought.*

(h) ú-, ụ́- plus high tone
íta *chewing* : ụ́tá *blame* :ọ́ tà-rà-mụ́ụ́tá *he blamed me.* í·nwụ· *dying* : ụ́·nwụ́· *famine.*

(j) ụ̀ plus low tone
ímà *measuring* : ụ̀mà *character.*

14 NOUNS WITH BENEFIT-FORMS DERIVED FROM VERBS
See 9.

(a) è-, à- plus high tones
íkpe *requesting* : èkpéré *prayer.* ígha *scattering* : ụ́kíta ahụ̀·nwèrè ájí aghara *that dog has a shaggy coat* (àghárá *scarrering*).

(b) é-, á- plus high, low
íkà *drawing a line* : ákáràline

(bb) è-, à- plus low tones
íma *being good* : ó mèèrè-mààmà-rà *he showed lenience towards me.* ísị *saying* : àsịrị *gossiping.*

(c) í-, í- plus low tones
íchì *rubbing against* : íchìrì *heel.*

(d) ó-, ọ́- plus high tones
íhi *wedging* : óhírí íshi *pillow.* íbu *carrying* : ónyé óbúrú *porter.*

(e) ó-, ọ́- plus mid tones
íghe *being open* : óghere *small aperture.*

(f) ò-, ọ̀- plus low tones
íwa *shattering* : ọ̀wàrà *path* . íghe *being open* : òghèrè *opportunity* : òghèrè á dígh̩ *there is no chance.*

(g) ú-, ụ́- plus high, low
íkwà *coughing* : ụ́kwárà *a cough*

(gg) ú-, ụ́- plus high, mid
íze· *sneezing* : úzé·re· *a sneeze*

116 (h) ù-, ụ̀- plus low tones

íme *doing* : ùmèrè *character* . ɩ̨mà *measuring*: ụ̀màrà *character*.

(j) ú-, ụ́- plus low tones
íbì *cutting* : ó bìrì úbìrì *he belched*. íwò *sloughing by snake*: úwòrò *sloughed skin of snake*. ífe *blowing* : úfèrè *wind*.

(k) ḿ̨- plus low, high
ɩ̨bà *entering* : ḿ̨bàrá *profit*. í-kpù *covering* : ọ́ nèèmé í·hyé· ḿ̨kp-ùrú *he is secretive*.

(l) m̨̀- plus low tones
ɩ̨kpọ *calling* : ọ̀hɩ̨́hyọ̀ *whistling* : m̨̀kpọ̀rọ̀hɩ̨́hyọ̀ *whistling to a person*.

SECTION N
REDUPLICATION

(a) When we have two high-toned nouns reduplicated, the result is usually two highs plus two mids , this leading to tone falling from high to mid in the centre of such a compound :-

ọ́sọ́ *running* plus ọ́sọ́ > ọ́sọ́ọsọ *quickly*. ńgwáŋgwa *quickly*. ọ́nụ́· *mouth* : ọ́nọ́ọnụ· ôbôdô *the outskirts of the town*.

árá *madness* : ọ́ nèèmé áráara *he is impulsive*. íké *strength* :ọ́kụ́ à à cháká íkíike *this light is harsh*.

(b) But sometimes, two high tones when reduplicated retain their four highs :-

ọ́ dɩ̨ féré-féré *it is light in weight*. mwá ńtɩ́ńtɩ́ *slightly*. ńgwó-ńgwó *luggage*.

(c) low-high plus low-high results in the tones required by 5f .iv on page 15 :-

ùré *stench* : ó shì·rì· ùré-ure *it has an unpleasant stench*.

(d) (i) two low-toned words reduplicated usually > low, high, low, low :-

ọ́ nàchá èdò = ọ́ nàchá òdò = ọ́ nàchá èdó-èdò= ọ́ nàchá òdó-òdò *it is yellow*.

ọ́ tụ̀rụ̀ àgwà = ọ́ tụ̀rụ̀ àgwáàgwà *it is variegated in colour*.

(ii) note :- ṇ̀kèyá ṇ̀kèya kọ̀ọ́ mà *he's self-centred* : *he's selfish* (lit. *his own affair, his own affair is what he is aware of*.

(iii) Sometimes, the result is a succession of low tones : àtụ̀ = àtụ̀tụ̀ *example*.

(e) high, low reduplicated retains its pair of tones :-

há. dɩ̨ íchè-íchè = há. dɩ̨ íche íchè *they differ from each other* . ńdụ̀ *life* : ó shì·rì· ńdụ̀- ńdụ̀ *it has a fresh smell*. ágbwàrà *fe-tish* : ó shì·rì· ágbwàrà ágbwàrà *it has a musty smell*.

(f) example of low, high, mid being treated as if it were reduplicated low, high, high (5f.iv , page 15) :- òkúte *rock* : ọ́ bụ̀ òkúté okute *it* (i.e. *soil*) *is rocky*.

(g) example of reduplicated no-un from Section C (page 17) : -mánụ· *oil* (derived from ɩ̨mánụ́·) : ányá manụ· mànụ̀· *jaundiced eyes* (derived by 5.fiv, page 15 from ányá ɩ̨mánụ́. ɩ̨mánụ́·).

(h) see 6, page 112 : 7, page 112 : 8, page 112 : 9,page 113: 10, 11, 12, page 113.

ADDENDA TO 'THE PRINCIPLES OF IGBO'

ADDENDA TO 'THE PRINCIPLES OF IBO.

No.1.

Section A.3b. FINAL SYLLABIC Ṃ, N:

(i) When a noun ending in syllabic -Ṃ is followed by a noun whose initial vowel has a tone different from that of the -Ṃ, then a gliding tone arises at the point where the two words of this compound meet :-

Examples

ámáṃ̀^àtụ̀ becomes ámámáàtụ̀ 'example'. àmàṃ̀^í·hye· becomes :- àmàmìí·hye· 'knowledge'. èsèṃ̀^ókwú becomes èsèmòókwú 'a quarrel'. ṃ̀kpọ̀rọ̀ṃ ụ́gwọ becomes :- ṃ̀kpọ̀rọ̀mụ̀ụ́gwọ 'hatred'.

(ii) What has happened here is that -Ṃ has ceased to be syllabic and has become a consonant which + the initial vowel of the next word now forms that word's first syllable : thus, the constitution of the syllables, after starting as 3 syllables (ámáṃ́) + 2 syllables (àtụ̀) becomes 2 syllables (ámá) + 2 syllables(i.e. down-gliding máà+ tụ̀).

This transfer has much in common with what happens in verbs (see Section H.12t.iii), but there, the -Ṃ etc. assimilates itself to the tone of the first vowel of the next word without intervening gliding tone so that ọ́ kụ̀rụ̀ṃ áká becomes ọ́ kụ̀rụ̀-mááká 'he hit me'.

(iii) When both -Ṃ and the next vowel are both the same tone, the same sound-transfer occurs between the syllables (but no doubling of vowel takes place as it does in the case of a verb + suffixed pronoun- object in Section H mentioned in the Paragraph preceding this). So:- àkwáṃ́ ózú· becomes :- àkwámózú· 'funeral-ceremony'. ákpáṃ́ ákpá becomes ákpámákpá 'chatting'.

(iv) Vice-versa, when the 1st word ends in a vowel and a syllabic sound with a different tone begins the next word, then a gliding tone automatically occurs :-

Examples

ùdù 'waterpot' : míri 'water' : ùdù ṃ́miri 'a pot of water' (see Section C.2a). ṃ́gbwá ṇshi· 'sorcery'.

N.B. When both sounds are of the same tone, then the word is pronounced as a single unit without any breath-pause between the two words : ṃ̀gbwà-ṃ̀kpú 'funeral-ceremony'.

(v) We can have final syllabic -ṃ + initial syllabic ṃ :- ètíṃ́ ṃ́kpú 'shouting'.

No. 2. .....

A.5b.iii Insert after this entry :- A.5b.iii(a) Failure to double a vowel occurs owing to the origin being overlooked or by custom :-

Examples

ánwụ· = ányánwụ· (from ányá ánwụ·) 'the sun' (ányá 'eye') . nwóke 'man' (from nwá óke 'strong child', an exceptional case of óké coming after its noun) : NOT nwóóke .

àgbọ́ghọ derives certain forms from a model with tones differing from those just given i.e. from àgbọ́ghọ́, for we have in use :- nwá agbọghọbyà (v Section B.5f.iii) = àgbọ́ghọ 'girl': we cannot have nwá agbọghọọbyà with internal doubled -ọọ-. But, we have doubled -ọọ- in àgbọ́ghọ́ọ́byà 'girl' on the model of :- òkóró=òkórọ́ọ́byà=òkóróọ́-byà 'young man'.

No.3.

A.5b.v. b=w can drop out in ɔ́ bʊ̀ = ɔ́ wʊ̀ :- ɔ́ bʊ̀ (=ɔ́ wʊ̀) mʊ́ shìrìyá = ɔ́ɔ́ mʊ́ shìrìyá 'it is / who cooked it'.

..... No.4.

B.5b.ii. mwóke 'man' is an exception, as we say mwóke á 'this man' not mwóké à (see A.5b.iiiA in ADDENDA).

.....

No. 5.

B.5(cc) gɨ́nɨ as subject does not become gɨ́nɨ́ by the rule in 5c.iv above :- gɨ́nɨ kpátárá í jì méeya 'what caused you to do it?

.....

No. 6.

B.5f.xiii. There is also no change in the tones of :- ɔ́mʊ· 'hole', ʊ́gwɔ 'debt' :- ɔ́mʊ· ɔ̀kè 'the lair of the mouse' : ʊ́gwɔ̀ ànyɨ 'our debt' (see (ii) at top of page 17) : but in the case of ɔ́mʊ· 'mouth', ʊ́gwɔ́ 'salary', we have :- ɔ́mʊ́· oke 'the mouth of the rat' : ʊ́gwɔ́ anyɨ 'our salary'.

.....

No. 7.

B.5f.iv add :- when we have low, high + low, high preceded by another noun which changes the 1st low, high into mid, mid, then the 2nd low, high of the group low, high + low, high is also affected in tone and is one pitch below the previous word :-

àhʊ́· 'body' : ʊ̀fʊ́ 'pain' : àhʊ́· ʊ́fʊ̀ 'physical pain' : ɔ́chèzɔ́ ahʊ· ʊ̀fʊ̀ 'forgetting one's bodily pain'.

ʊ́bɔ̀chɨ 'day' : ɔ́chètá 'remembering' : ɔ̀lʊ̀lʊ́ 'wedding' : ʊ́bɔ̀chɨ ɔ́chètá ɔlʊlʊ ànyɨ 'the anniversary of our (ànyɨ) wedding'.

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No. 8.

B.5k.iii ézè 'king' when standing as 2nd element of a genitive becomes èzè :-

ʊ́.hʊ́· èzè 'the king's palace'. ʊ́gwɔ 'debt' : ʊ́gwɔ́ èzè 'the king's debt'. ʊ́gwɔ́ = ʊ́gwɔ́^ɔ́mwa ' salary' : ʊ́gwɔ́ ɔ́mwa èzè 'the king's emoluments'.

ʊ́zɔ̀ 'road' : ʊ́zɔ èzè 'the king's highway'.

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No. 10.

H.7 add :- (h) From examination of VN 2, we notice that :-ègbújí (4b.v) clearly shows origin H +H and that áfʊ̀nyʊ́ (4b.v) similarly denotes origin L + H.

On the other hand, èwéfʊ̀ (4b.v on Page 37) is LHL even though it is derived from L + L. ègbúbì (4b.v) clearly shows it is < H + L.

Comparing áfʊ̀nyʊ́ above (VN 2) with VN 1 ɨ́fʊ̀nyʊ̀, here -nyʊ̀ represents H origin (ɨ́nyʊ) !

àtʊ́kwàsɨ́ correctly shows origin HLH, but VN 1 has final L -sɨ̀ representing H original ɨ́sɨ !

It is plain therefore, that we cannot rely on the tenses of verbs or their verbal nouns to lead us automatically to certainty about their components, but must use H.1d, H.2f Page 34, controlled by perspicacity in choosing between alternative verbs which have the tones necessary to produce the resultant forms given in H.1d, H.2f.

Vice-versa, we are on safe ground, for if we wish to construct a compound, we use the forms in H.1d, H.2f, the only irregularity here, being that mentioned in N.B. at foot of Page 34 and consisting in the fact that some verbs ending in a final element other than ɨ́fʊ̀ are treated as if they did end in ɨ́fʊ̀ (H.2e.iii).

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No. 11. add to page 45 :- 8(jj) (i) as it is the final vowel on which expansion or doubling operates (e.g. ígbubî > gbúbieé 'cut off!'), hence if to this verb we add -chá 'thoroughly', we have ígbubîchá , and any doubling or expansion required now applies to -chá instead of to -bî, so we get gbúbicháá ! corresponding with lághachí!*, though this latter verb does not expand (8f.iv, page 44) : so also, compare gbujíé !+ 'cut down!'(8d on page 43) and gbujícháá 'cut down completely!' (6b.vi, page 40).

(ii) in the case of * above , addition of -chá to ígbubî (i.e. ígbubîchá : gbúbicháá) has transferred the conjugation from 2f. iv (page 35) to 4b.vi (page 37) i.e. type íaghâchî whose imperative is lághachí 'return!'.

(iii) in the case of + above , adding any high verb (ícha) to high, mid, mid verb does not change the conjugation, for gbujíé has the same tones as gbujícháá. (iv) but, as seen in 8j.iii above, addition of low verb to ígbw -achi > ígbwachîbîdò conjugated like íkpakâlâtâ (8f.v, page 44).

(v) Although -fụ̀ as 2nd element of a disyllabic verb (íwefụ̀) constitutes a special conjugation (2e.iii on Page 34), yet when ífụ̀ is 1st element of a verb or stands as in vi below, it is merely treated as being in the ordinary category of L verbs, so ífụ̀nyụ̀ (2f.ii on Page 34) behaves exactly like e.g. ízọ̀lì (< ízọ̀ + íli) 'st -anding up' i.e. imperatives : - fụnyụ́ọ́ , zọlíé .

(vi) When -fụ̀ is not the final verb in a compound consisting of merely two verbs (type íwefụ̀ :ízi -fụ̀), but is the final verb of 3 or more verbs, then it is treated like any other L verb of the LM+ VL series i.e. according to how many syllables, it follows model of íaghâcî for 3 syllables, íkpa -kâlâtâ for 4 syllables. Thus :- íkporôfụ̀ = íkporôpụ̀ would, if it were to be used in the imperative, be kpórofụ́ = kpóropụ́ (modelled on kpákalátá !). It will be noticed that when -fụ̀ is final ve -rb, it does not expand in any ty -pe of compound verb : when this verb ífụ̀ stands alone, it always expands :- fụọ́ọ́ 'go out!'.

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No.12.

Page 8 :- add A.9z.iii P=F :- ífụ̀ = ípụ̀ 'going out'.

Page 8 :- add at end of (z.ii) :- see -we = -be in Dictionary .

Page 8 :- add 9z.iv NY=GH(cf. z.i) :- ó tìnyèrè = ó tìghìri 'he inserted'.

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No. 14.

Page 5 :- add at end of 5b.iv (Column 1). The reason for changing buoóm̩ into buóm̩, and buoóya into buóya 'carry him!'seems to rest on stress. The O which stands before -m̩, -ya etc. carries the stress in the case of buóm̩,bu -óya etc. and is the pivot between U and M̩ in buóm̩ , where we now have falling glide (óm̩) instead of the original rising glide (oó) where the stress is on the 1st O. The imperative requires a rising glide, hence on the model of gaá , we would get buó which has two different vowels and so cannot form rising glide : this we get by converting buó into buoó, but when rising glide is no longer needed, we return to buó and ha- -ve buóm̩ (12c.iii, page 54).

No. 15. Page 52 :- add :- (o) The observations 'as 2nd (final) verb of a compound....' govern only this pa -ticular case and not cases where the verb in question is the 1st verb of a compound, as it often , in fact, is . For example,(xv) on Page 51 ídị :- ụ̀kaá dịtụ̀ ícè 'this is slightly different' (xi on Page 51).

No. 16.

Thus, ʊ́lò + ɪ́mʊ́ > (5a.1, on Page 13) ʊ́lò ɪ́mʊ > (by loss of ɪ́-) ʊ́lòmʊ > ʊ́lòm > ʊ́lòm̀ . Also by 5a.1, áká ɪ́mʊ́ > áká ɪ́mʊ > ákámʊ > ákám̀ . Similarly, ógo by 5b.1 on Page 13 > ógó before a noun : this, by 5a.1 > ógó ɪ́mʊ > ógómʊ> ógóm̀ . N.B. The word suffixed to the nouns ʊ́lò, áká, ógo is not ɪ́mʊ́, ɪ́yá etc. as is the case in 13aiii Page 59, but is HH ɪ́mʊ́ , ɪ́yá etc., for if we suffix ɪ́mʊ́ to ʊ́lò, we get ʊ́lo ɪ́mʊ > ʊ́lom̀ by 5f.vii on Page 15.

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No. 17.

Page 60, at end of 13d add : -(dd) If the LH noun is the 1st wo-rd of a genitive-compound, then the L verb retains its L tone and the compound's LH word keeps its tone unchanged. An example of this is the last sentence on Page 62 where we retain tones of ʊ̀dɪ̀ˆnwáàny̰ .

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No. 18.

Page 58, add after 12(r) :-(rr) Two pronouns meet when clause 1 ends in suffixed pronoun- object and clause 2 begins subject-prono-un : see 15h on Page 65.

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No. 19.

Add at end of 3c, Page 26 :- (as subject) ǫ́nʊ́.ya búrú íbù 'his mouth is big'. ǫ́nʊ́·ya miri ǫ̀mimi 'its burrow is deep'. (as objects) leé ǫ́nʊ·ya anya 'look at his mouth!'. kwʊchíé ǫ́nʊ·ya 'block up its (i.e. the rat's) burrow!'.

.....

No. 20. C.2c.iv, Page 19, add : -if it stands at the beginning, a monosyllabic noun like dí, when + possessive suffix,acts like its hypothetical prototype ìdí and be-comes dím̀ 'my husband'. But when as here, it has mid tone, then ' my husband' is dim̀ (not dim̀) i.e. it does not follow the model of E.1b on Page 25.

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No. 21.

14b, Page 62 add :- N.B. 'whi-le a rat eats is while it blows ' is actually 'while a rat eats, then it is while it blows', for in the example òké nêèrí, ǫ̀ náafʊ̀ ǫ́nʊ·, we see that ǫ̀ has L tone. The same is the case in (f) below ǫ̀ nêègólátá.

In 15g (Page 65), we see that we have this same L tone to express 'then', hence ǫ̀ náafʊ̀ is an instance of the use of the TH-EN-tense.

As the forms in 15g are alternative with those in 15e, Page 63, we could have used the latter as alternatives in the above examples and said :- òké nêèrí , ǫ́ǫ naàfʊ̀ ǫ́nʊ· : m̀ nèèzífʊ̀ únyi icekwu, ǫ́ǫ̀ nèègólátá ógho .

Similarly :- ǫ́ rafʊ̀rʊ́m̀, m̀ nêèmè m̀bèlèm̀bélé = ǫ́ rafʊ̀rʊ́m̀ , máa nêèmè m̀bèlèm̀bélé 'he left me in the lurch'.

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No. 22.

11f.iii, foot Page 53 add : -Like ǫ́ kam̀ at the top of this page, ǫ́ nwe is also a form of state with an unusual M tone :- m̀ nwe akʊkǫ ɪ́ nácǫ́ 'I have the book which you are looking for' (i.e. definite 'the particular book') . But, indefinite :- m̀ nwèrè ákʊ́kǫ́ 'I have several books'.

.....

No. 23.

20g, Page 79 add :- ɪ́wefʊ̀rʊ̀ ógo 'removing money for himself'.

.....

No. 24.

20k.iii, Page 80 , add before ɪ́gafètá :- ǫ́ wefʊ̀rʊ́lá ógo 'he has removed the money for himself'. ǫ́ fʊnyʊ́ʊ́rʊ́lá = ǫ́ fʊnyʊ́ǫ́rǫ́lá 'he has extinguished for himself'. ǫ́ gbubiírílé = ǫ́ gbubiéérélé 'he has cut off for himself

No. 25.

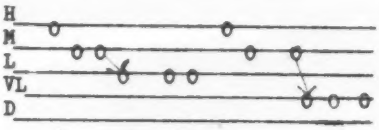
16m.iii (Page 73) add :- We have already seen examples of H monosyllable (íshi 'cooking') and L monosyllable (ɨ́dà 'falling').

The other verb-types are thus:- ígbuji :- ǫ́ bụ́rụ́ nà í kwènyèrè. á ka-meègbùjì òshìshì 'had you agreed, I should have felled the tree'.

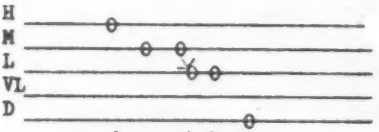
ífụ̀nyụ̀ :- ǫ́ bụ́rụ́ nà í kwènyèrè, á ka-maåfụ̀nyụ̀ ǫ́kụ́ 'had you agreed, I should have put out the fire'.

íwefụ̀ :- ǫ́ bụ́rụ́ nà í kwènyèrè, á ka-meèwèfụ̈ égo 'had you agreed, I should have removed the money'.

ígbubì :- ǫ́ bụ́rụ́ nà í kwènyèrè , á ka-meègbùbï ǫ́kà 'had you agreed, I should have cut off the maize'.



á ka-meègbùjì á ka-maåfụ̀nyụ̀



á ka-meèwèfụ̈

In the above forms,-mụ ègbuji > -m̩ + ègbùjì: 5f.i, 5f.iii, Page 15.

-mụ äfụ̀nyụ̀ > -m̩ + åfụ̀nyụ̀ .

-mụ èwefụ̀ > -m̩ + èwèfụ̈ .

See Addenda 31.

No. 26.

19d, Page 78. See interrogative: - NỤ° in Dictionary.

No. 27.

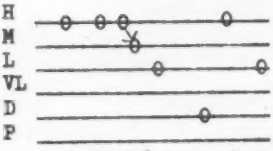
J.4b, Page 98, add :- ónyé nesò ụ̀zọ̀ Kräåyst = ónyé nesò ụ́zọ Kràäyst 'he who following the path of Christ' i.e. 'a Christian' (see 13e.iv, 13e.iii, Page 23.

No 28.

Page 4, add 4(z.i) :- In some dialects, verbs of the same tone are distinguished from one another by the initial consonant being aspirated i.e. followed by H-sound. Thus ɨ́ba 'being abundant', but ɨ́bʰa 'peeling'. ɨ́bà 'soaking some gr', but ɨ́bʰà 'entering'. :see L page 3.

No. 29.

Page 98, add to end of J.4a:- ǫ́kpáráṃ nàryä ǫ́ryà 'my eldest son who is ill' (ld.iii, Page 94). See diagram on Page 40.



ǫ́kpáráṃ nàryä ǫ́ryà

No. 30.

Page 28, Section F.4.

two noun-objects

(a) The word 'changeable' as I use it below, means the nouns whose tones are affected by the previous word : these are the types in 5a (page 13), 5f(page 15), 5g, 5h (page 16).

(b) In the following cases, the final noun of the two nouns changes its tone in accordance with the provisions of the paragraphs mentioned in 4a above.

(i) verb plus noun-object-with-hightoned possessive-suffix plus changeable-noun 'as to'.

(ii) verb-with-dative*-pronoun-suffix plus noun-object-ending-in-high-tone plus changeable-noun 'as to'.

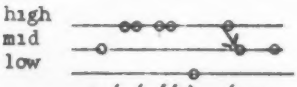
* meaning 'for', 'to'.

(iii) In both these cases, the sentence has two nouns after the verb.

(c) examples of (i)

ọ̀chá *cleanliness*. ímụ́ụ́lọ̀ *room*. ímụ́ụ́lọ̀ḿ *my room*. doó ímụ́ụ́lọ̀-mọ́-ọcha *clean my room* ! (lit. *arrange my room as to cleanliness* !) : this arises from ímụ́ụ́lọ̀ mụ́ (noun) ọ̀chá > ímụ́ụ́lọ̀ mụ́ ọcha (N.B. at foot of page 27) > ímụ́ụ́lọ̀-mọ́-ọcha (by (i) at top of page 121).

high
mid
low



doó ímụ́ụ́lọ̀-mọ́ọcha

N.B. Though ọ́ kụ̀rụ̀-mááká (12t.iii, page 59) *he hit me* has a construction similar to the example above *clean my room* ! and means literally *he hit me as to the hand*, yet mụ́ áká does not become mááka, because here, the 2nd of the elements required by b.i above is lacking.

èzí *compound* : èzíḿ *my compound*. doó ezi-mọ̀ọ̀chá *clean my compound* ! : the rule does not apply here, as ezìḿ does not end in high tone : doó ezìḿ arises by 3L (page 45) and 5f (page 15) : èzìḿ ọ̀chá > ezi-mọ̀ọ̀chá .

Similarly, no change occurs in the tone of ọ̀chá in :- ó dòrò èzí-mọ̀ọ̀chá *he cleaned my compound* (èzíḿ which ends in mid tone).

In the following, the rule in b.i above is fulfilled and so, the final noun changes its tone:-

ọ̀kwà *bushfowl*. ọ̀kụ́kụ̀ *chicken* . ọ́ kpọ̀rọ̀ ọ̀kwà-mọ́ọkụkụ̀ *he called my bushfowl a chicken*. kpọọ́ ọ̀kwà-mọ́ọkụkụ̀ *call my bushfowl a chicken* !

ọ̀chịcha *cockroach*. kpọọ́ ọ̀kwà-mọ́ọchịchà *call my bushfowl a cockroach* ! éwú *goat*. kpọọ́ ọ̀kwà- méé-wu *call my bushfowl a goat* ! ó sùrù ụ́lọ̀-mọ́ọ́kụ *he set fire* (ọ̀kụ́) *to my house*.

The rule is not fulfilled in the following sentence, as the word ọ́kịtaḿ ends in mid tone :- kpọọ́ ọ́kịtaḿ ọ̀kụ́kụ̀ *call my dog a chicken* !

high
mid
low
very low

kpọọ́ ọ̀kwà-mọ́ọkụkụ̀

high
mid
low

kpọọ́ ọ̀kwà-mọ́ọchịchà

(d) examples of (ii) above

ó lègìdèèrè-mééwú ánya *he looked after the goat for me*.

ḿmà *knife*. ḿmàḿ *my knife*. ó lèè-rèḿ ḿmà-máánya *he looked after my knife for me*. leérèḿ *look after for me* ! : leérèḿ ḿmà-máánya *look after my knife for me* ! but ó lèè-rèḿ ḿmà ányá *he looked after the knife for me*.(for ḿmà has low tone

but (as word last but one is not high) :- ó lègìdèèrèyá ḿnwáya anya *he looked after her child for her*.

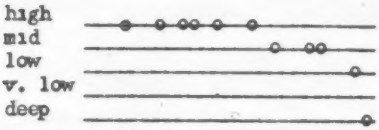
(e) 2nd of the examples below is an irregular colloquialism :- ọ́ rafụ̀ụ̀rụ̀ -mòònwèḿ *he left me in peace*. ráfụrụ́-moonwèḿ *leave me in peace* !

(f) ịgbwabî : verbal noun 2 àgbwá-bì *causing to cease* : benefit form àgbwábìrí : note change of tone in both nouns in :- ánwụ́. mèrè-máagbwabîrí ánya *the sun made me blink* (àgbwábìrí is treated as if it is àgbwábì (type ọ̀kụ́kụ̀ 5g, page 16),the syllable -rí being then suffixed to the resultant agbwabî, and giving us agbwabîrí), see 8f on page 108.

No. 31.

Addenda 25 , page 125 add :-

In the case of high monosyllabic verb (.... á ka-meèshì ṇrì, page 73), a different tone is used in the verb when nwá ṇ́tíṇ́tí introduces the sentence : this is an elliptic expression without verb meaning *had it not been for a little : only a little remained that...* :- ínwụ. *dying* : nwá ṇ́tíṇ́tí á ka-maanwùụ̀. *I nearly died.*



nwá ṇ́tíṇtí á ka-maanwùụ̀.

No. 32.

L.ii, page 80 add :- ọ́ garala gawa *he is going along steadily* . ọ́ zaárálá àlà gáwá *he is continuing steadily with sweeping the floor.*

No. 33.

f.iii, f.v on page 44 :- a few 3-syllable verbs (f.iii, page 44) follow the irregular pattern of the 4-syllable kpúchibidó : thus, as an example of the perfect of the verb íkporòpụ̀ = íkporòfụ̀, we have úmé e kporòpòláṃ nọọsọ̀ *I am breathless from running.*